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# ORIGINES;

OR,

## REMARKS ON THE ORIGIN

OF

## SEVERAL

## EMPIRES, STATES, AND CITIES.

35144

BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR W. DRUMMOND.

VOL. I.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY

THE MOST NOBLE

## THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS,

K. G. AND K. B.

GOVERNOR OF MALTA,

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE favourable opinion which your Excellency has been pleased to express of this volume, of which I had the honour of sending you a printed copy, induces me to take the liberty of dedicating it to you. I lament that it is now too late for me to profit by some of the information which your great knowledge of the history and languages of Oriental nations has

enabled you to give me. I have, however, always the satisfaction of thinking, that my volume has met with your approbation; and that I cannot dedicate it to any man more valued for his public services, or more honoured for his private virtues.

W. DRUMMOND.

*Naples,*
*September* 17, 1824.

# PREFACE.

It has been my endeavour in the work which I now present to the Public, to throw light upon the dark and early annals of some ancient nations, to separate, as far as I was able, historical from fabulous narratives, and to point out the limits which belong both to truth and to fiction. Upon the difficulties of my undertaking I shall not expatiate. If prejudice and personal animosity condemn me for having dared to hope that I could conquer these

difficulties, candour and impartiality will probably pardon me for having made the attempt.

I have confined my researches to enquiries concerning the origin of some ancient Oriental nations. One of the principal obstacles which impeded my progress resulted from the extravagant claims of those nations to remote antiquity. I have endeavoured to reduce their calculations within the bounds of reason and probability.

With respect to biblical chronology I have preferred the authority of the Septuagint to that of the Vulgate; and I have stated my reasons for having done so; but there is not a sentence in this

work, as far as I am aware, and as my intentions have led me, which can give the slightest offence to the strictest theologian.

As I found it impossible to avoid introducing many Oriental words into the course of my discussions; and as Europeans are far from being agreed about the orthography of such words, when written in Roman letters, I have generally added the forms which they bear in the characters of the different languages to which they belong.

I have determined to print this book, because I flatter myself with the hopes, that it may meet with the approbation of men of letters, who are engaged in pursuits

similar to my own; not because I expect it to excite any attention beyond the closet of the antiquary. I am well aware that the writer, who endeavours to separate truth from fiction in ancient history, undertakes a task, which is more likely to prove laborious to himself than agreeable to others. There is perhaps a mental pleasure, which though few avow, yet many feel, in contemplating remote events obscurely known, embellished by fancy, and amplified by exaggeration. We scarcely desire to know the truth, where the fiction pleases better; nor is it without a pang that we part with our first youthful notions, or that we break those early associations which were formed, when the judgment was yet immature, and when the imagination was still the ruling

faculty of the mind. Even in our riper years the love of the marvellous, though restrained by reason, and moderated by experience, lurks in our breasts, and clings to our hearts. Novelty itself, when unaccompanied by surprise, loses half its charms. We gladly return to the tales of other times; linger over the dark legends of antiquity; and delight to wander with the historians of old in the paths of wonder. In questions, unconnected with sacred and important interests, men are rarely very anxious to discriminate exactly between truth and fiction; and few of us would probably be much pleased with the result, could it now be certainly proved, that Troy never existed, and that Thebes, with its hundred gates, was no more than a populous village. It is perhaps still with a

secret wish to be convinced against our judgment, that we reject as fables the stories told of the Grecian Hercules, or of the Persian Rustem; and that we assign to the heroes and the giants of early times the strength and the stature of ordinary men. He, who looks at the neighbouring mountains at the bright hour of noon, no longer surveys them with the same emotions, as when he rose with the dawn, and beheld them through the mists of morning, magnified to awful grandeur, and shrouding their heads among the clouds of heaven. He can now indeed judge more accurately than before of their height and extent; but he sees them no more under forms immense, sublime, and undefined; the poetry of the landscape has vanished; and if a spark of its inspiration remain in his

soul, he will sigh over the broken spell, and lament the departed illusion.

W. DRUMMOND.

*Naples, February,* 1823.

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Tigris R.
Tigris R.

# ORIGINES.

## BOOK I.

## ON THE ORIGIN OF THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE.

### CHAPTER I.

*Of the city of Babylon — its antiquity — extent, and population.*

THE nations of the East, with the exception of the Jews and Arabians, appear always to have vied with each other in their extravagant claims to a remote antiquity. The pretensions of the Chaldeans were more modest than those of the Persians and the Indians; and yet we know that Berosus, according to some, reckoned a period of 150,000 years[1] from the establish-

[1] Euseb. Chron. L. 1.

ment of the Babylonian monarchy to the time of Alexander the Great, and that this writer, according to others, extended the period in question to 432,000 years.[1] We may also observe, without referring to a disputed passage in Pliny, that Cicero reprehended,[3] and that Diodorus Siculus[4] rejected, the claims of the Chaldeans to an antiquity of 470,000 or of 473,000 years.

There can be no doubt that many ages must have elapsed, before a city so vast as Babylon could have been built and peopled. The extent of the walls was estimated by Herodotus at 480 *stadia*;[5] and Pliny, who probably supposed that Olympic *stadia* were meant by the historian, has reckoned this extent at 60 miles.[6] But this statement appears to me to be erroneous. When the Greeks spoke of distances measured by strangers, they employed their own word *stadium* to express proportions of extent, which, though different from that of the Olympic *stadium*, yet came nearer to it than to any other itinerary measure, for which they had a name in

[1] Euseb. Chron. L. 1. [2] L. 7. [3] De Divin.
[4] L. 2. [5] L. 1. [6] L. 6.

their language. Thus they used the word *stadium* to denote portions of the Chaldean mile, of the Persian *parasanga*, and of the Egyptian *schœnus;* though one of these portions exceeded, and all the others fell below, their own standard. The extent of the walls of Babylon was estimated by Diodorus Siculus at 360 *stadia;*[1] but he acknowledges that Clitarchus, who had measured them on the spot, reckoned the number at 365. According to Strabo, or at least according to his text as it now stands, the number of *stadia* amounted to 385;[2] but I have little doubt that this is an error of the copyists, and that for eighty (ὀγδοήκοντα), we should read sixty (ἑξήκοντα). Now if the Greeks had always reckoned by the Olympic *stadium*, it would be impossible to reconcile the accounts of the authors just mentioned with that of Herodotus; and it seems utterly improbable, that two historians, who had such means of information as Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, should have differed by 15 miles in stating the extent of a walled

[1] L. 2. [2] L. 16

city. It appears, then, that Herodotus reckoned by an Oriental itinerary measure, to which, however, he still gave the appellation of *stadium;* and it may be easily believed that the Asiatics, from whom he probably received the report, stated the extent of the walls of Babylon according to a measure of their own. This measure I conceive to have been the tenth part of a short Chaldean mile, and the forty-fifth part of a *parasanga*, and equal to 330 English feet. The Greeks appear to have frequently reckoned by this measure, when speaking of distances among the Asiatics; and it was the shortest of the itinerary measures, which they denominated *stadia*. Clitarchus, whose account I prefer to that of Diodorus, probably reckoned by another Oriental measure, to which the Greeks likewise gave the name of *stadium*, which contained 435 English feet, and which was equal to the thirty-fourth part of a *parasanga*. According to Herodotus, therefore, the extent of the walls of Babylon amounted to 158,400 English feet, or to thirty English miles; and, according to Clitarchus, their extent was equal to 158,775 English

feet, or to 30 English miles, 375 feet. I have explained myself upon this subject at greater length in the 16th volume of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, to which I refer my readers.[1]

The walls of Babylon formed a square; and each side of this square, if we follow Herodotus, was 120 (short) *stadia*, or seven miles and a half in length. According to Diodorus Siculus, a vacant space of two *plethra* was left between the walls and the city, and we may therefore reckon the distance between them at 240 feet. Consequently each side of the square, formed by the city itself, extended seven English miles, three furlongs, and 180 feet; and this was also the length of each of the 50 streets, of which one half crossed the other at right angles, and divided the city into 625 squares, which were laid out in gardens. To this general plan of Babylon we must make some exceptions, and allow for the space occupied by the Euphrates, as well as for the enclosures, in which the temple of Belus, the hanging

[1] At page 267 the words "multiplied by 8000," have been omitted. Some other errors occur of less importance.

gardens, and the royal palaces, were situated. The river, according to Strabo, was one *stadium* in breadth; and this *stadium* I should suppose to have been that of 435 English feet, equal to the 34th part of a *parasanga*, because Mr. Rich states the breadth of the Euphrates at Helle to be 450 feet, and this must have been very near the part of the river indicated by Strabo. It is indeed said by Diodorus Siculus, that the length of the bridge over the narrowest part of the river amounted to five *stadia*; but this bridge was probably constructed on account of the annual inundations, before the channel of the Euphrates was confined by walls of brick, and before the superabundant waters were conveyed away by innumerable canals. Each side of the square enclosure, in which the western palace stood, is said by Diodorus to have been 15 *stadia* in length; and as both this historian and Strabo, when they speak of measures of distance at Babylon, seem to have reckoned by the stadium of 435 feet, or the 34th part of a *parasanga*, each side of the exterior wall would measure nearly a mile and a quarter. But with all these de-

ductions, the capital of Chaldea must have contained many more houses than London, which is the largest city of modern Europe; and as Herodotus mentions that the houses were generally three or four stories high, we must suppose the existence of an immense population, which had grown to its height after the lapse of many ages, and which employed the industry, and consumed the produce of many provinces.

## CHAPTER II.

*Of the ancient Kings of Babylon.*

WE learn from the fragments of Berosus, Apollodorus, Abydenus, and Alexander Polyhistor, preserved by Eusebius and Georgius Syncellus, that the first king of Babylon was named *Alorus*, that nine kings succeeded him in a direct line, and that the last of these was named *Xisuthrus*, in whose time happened the great deluge. During this period several monsters, half men and half fish, are said to have risen out of the Erythrean sea, and to have instructed the people in the arts and sciences.

These antediluvian kings are stated to have reigned during a period of 120 *saroi*. I shall presently proceed to consider the meaning of this word, and in the mean time I shall give the

lists of the first ten Chaldean kings, as they are found in Eusebius, in Georgius Syncellus, and in the Armenian translation of Eusebius.

| EUSEBIUS. | SYNCELLUS. | ARMENIAN VERSION. |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Ἄλωρος | idem | Alorus reigned 10 *saroi*. |
| 2 Ἀλάσπαρος | idem | Alaparus 3 |
| 3 Ἀμηλών | idem | Almelon 13 |
| 4 Ἀμενών | idem | Amenon 12 |
| 5 Μεγάλαρος | Μεγάλαρος | Amegalarus 18 |
| 6 Δάωρος | Δάωνος | Davonus 10 |
| 7 Ἀεδώραχος | Εὐεδώραχος | Edoranchus 18 |
| 8 Ἀμφὶς | idem | Amemphsinus 10 |
| 9 Ὀτιάρτης | idem | Otiartes 8 |
| 10 Ξίξουθρος | Ξίσουθρος | Xisuthrus 18 |

The *saros*, according to Berosus, as reported by the Greek chronographers, was a period equal to 3600 years. Consequently 120 *saroi* were equal to 432,000 years. If we suppose the word, which the Greeks understood to be years, to have signified periods, the *saros* might have consisted of 3600 periods, which we may reckon as months, weeks, or days. In the first case 120 *saroi* would be equal to 432,000 months, or to 36,000 years—if weeks were meant, the number of years would be about 6240—but if days

were understood, we should have not quite 1185 years.

According to Suidas, who has probably borrowed the language of some more ancient writer, the *saros* was a cycle of eighteen solar years and a half; and contained 222 lunar months. This statement is evidently and altogether erroneous. Pliny, however, has also mentioned a period of 222 months, which period is likewise inexactly stated as a cycle; and accordingly Halley proposed to read 223 for 222. It has since been discovered by Hardouin, that the old copies of Pliny contained the reading proposed by Halley; and we may safely infer that this was the Chaldaic period, which Suidas has so inaccurately indicated. Two hundred and twenty-three lunar synodical months, each containing nearly about 29 days and a half, amount to 18 solar years and 11 days. This cycle was probably employed for the purpose of calculating eclipses.

The word *saros*, or, without the Greek termination, *sar*, is derived from the Chaldaic סהרא, *sahera*, which signifies *rotundity*, and has thence

been used figuratively to denote a cycle. It likewise signifies the *moon*, and this circumstance seems to favour the supposition, that the Chaldeans indicated by it a cycle of lunar months.

If we follow the opinion of Berosus, as it is stated from Alexander Polyhistor by Eusebius, we shall find, whether we consider the *sar* to have consisted of 3600 years, months, weeks, or days, that the length of the period assigned by him to the existence of the Babylonian monarchy, from the creation to the deluge, is not only at variance with the sacred Scriptures, but, when the duration of the reigns of several of the kings is examined, altogether improbable, and inconsistent with the ordinary laws of nature. Should we even reckon the *sar* to have only contained 3600 days, we shall find three reigns, each of which lasted 177 years.

In taking Suidas for our guide, we shall encounter difficulties not less formidable. If the *sar* be reckoned in round numbers at 18 years, the three reigns, of which I have just spoken, lasted for 972 years.

When to these chronological improbabilities

we add the account given of the appearance of *Oannes*, and of other aquatic monsters that visited the Babylonians, it seems impossible to consider the antediluvian history of the Chaldeans as any thing else than as a fable. Whether, or not, this fable be utterly barren of instruction, and devoid of meaning, is the question which I propose to examine in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER III.

*Of the fabulous history of the Chaldeans.*

When men are first civilized, and have at length leisure for curiosity, it is natural for them to examine the antiquities of their country, and to enquire into the early history of the society to which they belong. But the darkness in which preceding ages had been involved, and the barbarism from which they themselves have only lately escaped, render their researches always difficult, and often fruitless. The paucity, or the total want, of written records, discourages enquiry; judgment is perplexed by traditions sometimes vague, sometimes contradictory, and frequently absurd; and the love of discovery is exposed either to be deceived by illusions, or to be wasted on barrenness. But mankind are sel-

dom satisfied with remaining in doubt, when conjecture can explain what curiosity desires to know. The bold invent, and the credulous believe. Imagination embellishes tradition, illumines the dark pages of history, and builds on the early and doubtful annals of former times some glittering edifice, which dazzles the eyes of the ignorant, and which even pleases the spectator who doubts of its solidity.

In turning our attention to ancient Greece, we find almost the whole province of its early history usurped by poetry and fiction. We speak indeed of the heroic ages of the Greeks, as if they really belonged to history; but of those ages we in fact know little more than what the poets have told us. It is in vain that we seek for truth in the wide wilderness of error, through which we are led by such conductors, while we encounter at every step their gods, and their demi-gods, their monsters, their chimæras, and all the visionary forms that sprang from their prolific mythology.

The eastern nations were of a graver cast than the Greeks; but still their early annals, with one

exception, were filled up by the imagination of writers, who have oftener exhibited the exaggeration than the graces of poetry. Hence the history of empires was traced back through innumerable ages, and national pride was flattered by accounts of prosperity which had never existed, of mighty monarchs who had never reigned, and of glorious triumphs which had never been achieved.

It has been often said, that fiction is the soul of poetry. It may be asserted with equal truth, that among the ancient Oriental nations fiction was the organ of philosophy. In Asia, as well as in Egypt, the learned class was separated from all the rest. The priests were accustomed to speak in the language of mystery; and when they communicated their knowledge to the initiated, it was generally by types, ænigmas, and allegories.

I am aware that it must appear extraordinary, if not incredible, to many persons in our free-speaking England, that the discoveries of science should thus have been shrouded from public view; that the lessons of philosophy should

have been expressed in tropes and figures; and that important truths should have been hidden under the semblance of fabulous narrations. But the institutions, both political and religious, of the ancient nations of the East, required that knowledge should be confined to the few; and whether this system of government were good or bad, it accounts in great measure for the obscurity in which the learned enveloped their opinions.

Another cause, perhaps more powerful still, co-operated to produce this effect. As the science and knowledge of the learned encreased, their opinions, with respect to religion and philosophy, differed in proportion from those of the vulgar. In many countries of Asia the people had become the slaves of the vilest superstitions; while there were at least some among the priests, who, in the secret recesses of their colleges, taught the purest doctrines of natural religion, and made various discoveries in science. To have published those doctrines, or those discoveries, would have been to turn against themselves the prejudices, which their predecessors

had taught the ignorant to revere, and would have ranged in hostile array against them those very classes of society, which it had been always the object of their profession rather to govern than to instruct.

When, therefore, national curiosity, or national vanity, called upon the priests to give some account of the early history of their country; and when these priests found, that, if they spoke the truth, they must not only disappoint public expectation, but confess their own ignorance, it can scarcely be a matter of surprise, that they substituted fables for facts to amuse the people, while under the veil of allegory they conveyed lessons of instruction to those who understood their metaphorical language.

## CHAPTER IV.

*The same subject continued.*

MODERN writers, who have treated of the early part of the history of the Chaldeans, while they have considered it either wholly, or in part, as fabulous, have failed to give sufficient attention to the observation of Alexander Polyhistor, who remarks, that the ancient annals of the Babylonians are filled with allegories descriptive of physical phænomena.

It seems clear, that in the time of Alexander the Great, the Chaldeans knew, that the earth had been overwhelmed by a deluge, and that this deluge had happened in the tenth generation of the human race. Whether the knowledge of these facts had been obtained from the Jews, or whether it had been preserved by

tradition, I pretend not to decide; but even had they been acquainted with the book of Genesis, it is little likely that the priests of Belus would have been disposed to follow it implicitly; or to have adopted any account, in which the grandeur and pre-eminence of Babylon were not only not exhibited, but passed over in total silence. The sacred historian says nothing of Babylon before the flood—nothing of its kings, of its inhabitants, or of the monsters which visited it. Berosus speaks of nothing else. The Chaldean historians might admit, that there had been ten generations of the human race when the deluge happened; but it was not to be questioned by them, that Babylon, previous to the flood, had been the seat of empire, and that ten Chaldean monarchs had reigned in succession over all the nations of the earth. This, indeed, was a fiction; but it was one which was imperiously demanded by national pride. Tradition taught, and public opinion admitted, that ten generations had existed between the creation and the deluge; and it was not to be imagined by the proud children

of the mighty Babylon, that she was then without a being or a name.

One difficulty, however, remained; and it was one which could be neither concealed, nor evaded. Nabonassar had destroyed all the historical monuments, which had existed before his time. This fact was of public notoriety. Tradition, indeed, might supply a few details to the bold historian of doubtful or of imaginary events, and might facilitate to him the means of inventing more; but the publicity of the destruction of the records by Nabonassar, must have put credulity upon its guard, and have taught caution to imposture.

The Chaldean historians have not mentioned one solitary act of any of their antediluvian kings, and have contented themselves with giving us a list of their names, with the number of *sars*, during which each of them reigned. After an attentive examination of the subject, I am induced to believe, that while they amused vulgar curiosity with this list of ten imaginary monarchs, they meant to give to the learned an allegorical account of certain astronomical pe-

riods. Called upon to write the history of their country, even from the commencement of the world, they had no resource but to imagine fables, and no excuse for their fables but to render them useful or curious allegories. I request the attention of my readers to the following observations.

It was the custom of the ancient Oriental idolators to name their kings after their gods, and especially after the greatest of these, the sun and the moon. They also frequently combined various titles in one name; and even united in one title words taken from different dialects. I find the names of the ten antediluvian kings of Babylon to be either Chaldaic, or corruptions from the Egyptian, the Zend and the Pehlvi. The romance of Berosus was written more than two centuries after the conquest of Babylonia by the Persians; and the Chaldean priests, from whom he might have obtained his information, were probably not unacquainted with the languages of Iran and even of Egypt.

1. Ἄλωρος, *Aloros*, when the Greek termination is thrown away, is easily resolved into the

Chaldaic אל־אור, *Al-aor*, or *Al-or*, God of light —in one word, the sun.

2. Ἀλάσπαρος, *Alasparos*, is not the orthography. The name is correctly given in the Armenian version, whence it is evident that Eusebius wrote *Alaparos*. This is likewise Chaldaic; אלף־אור, *Aleph*, or *Alep-aor*, leader, or conductor of light—another solar title.

3. The proper orthography of the names of the three succeeding kings is *Amelon*, *Amenon*, and *Amegalaros*. But the Greeks have considerably changed these words from their original form in Chaldaic. It appears to me that the name of *Ham* enters into the composition of all of them. The descendants of Ham were heliolators, who gave to their progenitor the rank of a god, and who frequently employed his name as a solar title.

I shall not at present contend against Jablonski, that the Egyptian Amoun, or Hamoun, derived his name from that of the patriarch. I shall have another opportunity of showing why I cannot agree with the learned Pole, when he traces the name in question to two Coptic words,

which he says signifies *adducens lucem.* I shall only remark, that the Lybians, according to Macrobius, considered *Ammon,* or *Hammon,* as the setting sun; and that they consequently could not have assented to Jablonski's etymology.

Leaving, however, the Egyptian Amoun, and the Lybian Ammon, to the mercy of the modern Copts, let us observe that in Asia the sun was worshipped by names which can be traced to Ham. If we believe Lucan, Ammon was known as a god not only to the Ethiopians and the Arabians, but to the Indians.

*Quamvis Æthiopum populis Arabumque beatis*
*Gentibus atque Indis unus sit Juppiter Ammon.*

Now it will scarcely be attempted, I should suppose, to derive the name of the Asiatic Ammon from the Coptic dialect.

There can be no doubt that the voice of Oriental tradition has attributed to Ham either the invention or the renovation of the worship of the host of heaven; and hence various authors, both Greek and Arabian, have confounded

Ham with Zoroaster. Thus Didymus of Alexandria, an ecclesiastical writer of the fourth century, affirms that Zoroaster was no other than Cham the son of Noach—*τὸν Ζωροάστρην μηδένα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Χὰμ υἱὸν Νῶε εἶναι.* Abenephius, the Arabian historiographer, observes that "Ham was the first who introduced the worship of idols and magical arts into the world, and that he was called Zoroaster, (this author writes the name زوراتير, *Zorastir*,) the second Edris, &c." Ham is likewise accused by many rabbinical writers of having been a Tsabean. It is not surprising then that the idolatrous descendants of this heterodox patriarch should have worshipped the sun under his name. We accordingly find this name, as I have already observed, either forming a solar title, or interwoven with other appellations given to the sun by the adorers of that luminary. The name, or rather title, of the second king of Chaldea after the deluge, according to Alexander Polyhistor, was *Χωμάσβηλος*, *Chomasbelos*, and this name seems to resolve itself into Chaldaic under the form of חם־עז־בל, *Cham-az-Bel*, Cham, the strong, or

mighty, Bel. The god of the Cappadocians, that is to say the sun, was denominated *Homanos*, as we learn from Strabo; and this name was probably derived from that of the great postdiluvian apostate. It is however with more certainty that we can speak of those solar images, which were called חמנים, *hamanim*, or *chamanim*, and which are mentioned by Isaiah (xvii. 8.). Radak, in commenting on this word, observes that these images were invented by the posterity of Ham; and R. Benjamin says that the Cushites, descendants of Ham, were accustomed to place the *hamanim* on altars without the gates of the city. This last writer, with much simplicity, attributes to sorcery the art with which these solar idols were constructed. Every morning, adds he, when the sun rose, these *hamanim* were heard to utter sounds, while they kindled with fire and became brilliant with light. But the sun itself was called *Hamah*, or *Chamah*, in Hebrew. Thus Isaiah says, וחפרה הלבנה ובושה החמה, *and the moon shall be confounded, and the sun ashamed.*

It will perhaps be objected to the etymologies

which I have to propose, that Ham is written with a *cheth*, the harsh aspirate, in Hebrew. But since we are speaking of the names in question as they are written in Greek, this objection is of no avail whatever. The Greeks and Romans frequently threw away the harsh aspirate of the Orientalists, and supplied it with an open vowel. Ptolemy writes Ἀτραμύττεον, *Atramutteon*, for חצר־מות, *Chatsar-muth*, a town in Arabia. But without going further than his Vulgate, any reader may convince himself, that the Europeans have often supplied the harsh aspirate with an open vowel. Thus he will find Noë for נח, *Noach*; Eva for חוה, *Cheva*; Anna for חנה, *Channah*; Enoch for חנוך, *Chenokh*; Ophni for חפני, *Chophni*, &c. It is to be observed, that in all these words the real sound of the harsh Hebrew aspirate resembles the *ch* of the Germans, or the *ch* as pronounced in the vulgar Scottish dialect.

But since the Greeks and Romans were in the habit of supplying the harsh aspirate of the Orientalists by an open vowel, I have little hesitation in rendering Ἀμηλών, *Amelon*, into

Chaldaic by חם־אלון, *Cham*, or *Ham-Elon—Ham Deus*. The final *on* in *Elon* is merely an intensitive. The name of Ἀμενών, *Amenon*, seems to be the same with חמן, *Chaman*, or *Haman*. We have seen that Isaiah uses this word in the plural, *hamanim*, to denote the solar idols. When the Greek termination of Ἀμεγάλαρος, *Amegalaros*, is thrown away, this name easily assumes a Chaldaic form. I read it חם־ענול־אור, *Cham*, or *Ham-agol-aor—Ham lux vel Sol rotundus*. Thus, in the inscription cited by Selden, the name Ἀγλίβωλος has been traced to the original under the form of ענלי־בעל, *Agli-Baal*, the round Baal, and denoting the orb of the sun.

4. The names of the five remaining kings, with one exception, appear to me to be derived from the language of Iran.

The name of the sixth king seems to be correctly given in the Greek of Eusebius, Δάωρος, *Daoros*. When the termination, added for the sake of Hellenizing the word, is thrown away, we find it to be pure Persian, داور, *Daor*, a prince, or sovereign. This title is more commonly written دارا, *Dara*.

Ἀεδώραχος, *Aedorachos*, without the Greek termination *Aedorach*, was probably written אדר־אכא, *Adar-akha*, in Chaldaic, from the Persian اذر اخا, *Adar-akha*. *Adar*, or *Azar*, as Hyde observes, was the name of Mars in ancient Persian; but it is probably the same word which the modern Persians write آذر, *Azar*, and which signifies fire. In Hebrew and in Chaldaic, אדר, *adar*, signifies magnificent, splendid, &c. The Sepharvaim worshipped the sun under the name of אדרמלך, *Adar-melekh*, the splendid king. The word *akha*, or *aikha*, as we are informed by M. de Sacy, signified god, or demi-god, in *Pehlvi*. I conclude that the name before us was *Adar-akha*, and that it may be translated *Mars Deus;* or perhaps more certainly *Fire-God;* a solar title. The modern Persians appear to have changed the orthography of the word *akha*, which I think must have been originally the same with *agha* and *aka*, of which words I shall have occasion to speak presently.

I am unable to trace the name of Amphis to any of the Asiatic dialects. The Chaldeans, in composing the names of the ten imaginary kings,

whom they feigned to have governed their country before the flood, seem to have employed different languages, in order to make it be understood that their primæval monarchs had reigned over the greatest kingdoms of the earth as well as over Babylonia. In the case before us the name seems to have been borrowed from the Egyptian language. I have indeed scarcely any doubt, that *Amphis* is the same name, which the Greeks have elsewhere written Ἡμὴφ, *Hemeph*, and Κάμηφις, *Kamephis*. In the speech attributed to Isis in Stobæus, *Kamephis* is called the progenitor and most ancient of all; and in the fragment of Damascius περὶ ἀρχῶν, this *Kamephis*, according to Heraiscus, is asserted to be the sun. But this name is clearly Egyptian. Χημις φις, *Chemi-Phi*, (or pronounced broadly *Chami-Phi*,) signifies *Ægypti conservator* (Jablonsk. Panth. l. i. c. 4.). Now this name would be written in Chaldaic letters, חם־פי, *Cham-Phi*; and the Greeks, in dropping the harsh aspirate, and in Hellenizing the word by the addition of an *s*, would sound it *Amphis*. Thus the name appears to have signified the Preserver or

Guardian of Egypt; or perhaps we may understand it to mean *Cham* or *Ham Conservator*.

The ninth of these antediluvian monarchs is named Ὀτιάρτης, *Otiartes*. But this is clearly only another mode of writing the name, which Diodorus Siculus has perhaps better expressed by Ὀξυάρτης, *Oxuartes*, and which he says was the appellation of the king of Bactria, who was defeated by Ninus and Semiramis. I shall endeavour to restore this name, or rather this title, to its ancient Persian form.

It appears that in many ancient languages a word, which was variously sounded *huk*, *khokh*, *akh*, *agh*, *yak*, *osh*, &c. bore the signification of God, of king, of noble, of great. In the sacred language of Egypt, as Manetho affirms, *hu* signified a king. In the vulgar Egyptian tongue 𐓀𐓢, *osh*, is interpreted great. In modern Persian يک, *yak*, means noble—آغا, *agha*, a great lord—آقا, *aka*, a lord or master. We have already seen that the word *akha* signified God in Pehlvi; and it may be easily believed that this name was often transferred to the Iranian monarchs. The Persian princes, whom the Greeks fancied to

be named *Achæmenides* from *Achæmenes*, probably understood the matter better than the European strangers. No such king of Persia as Achæmenes ever existed. This was one of the titles assumed by princes, who, like Nebuchadnezzar, aspired even during their lives to the honours of the apotheosis, and commanded their enslaved subjects to offer them the homage which is only due from mortals to the Supreme Being. *Achæmenes* is a corruption for *Akha-mina*, God of heaven, or King of heaven. Even in modern Persian اغا مینا, *Agha-mina*, signifies *Dominus cœli*. The princes, called *Achæmenides* by the Greeks, vaunted their lineage as celestial. The Greeks seem likewise to have mistaken *ochus* for a proper name; but it is evidently a corruption of the word *akha*, and signifies God or king. In the modern dialects of Tartary *khokia* is the word for noble. The river Gihon was called Oxus by the Greeks, and this is a corruption for *Khok-su*, the name by which this river is still known not only in Balkh and in Tartary, but in India. *Khok-su* signifies the great water, or noble, or royal river. Now

without trespassing longer on the patience of the reader, I shall observe that as *arta* means *great* in Pehlvi, *Oxyartes* is a corruption for *Akha-arta*, which signified *Great King* in the ancient language of Iran.

I consider the name of Ξίσουθρος, *Xisuthrus*, to be a corruption from the Chaldaic, probably written שכתר, and taken from the word *Schethr*, or *Shketr*, in Pehlvi. This last word is again to be derived from *Khshethro* in Zend, in which language it signified *King*. It is now generally agreed that the Greeks endeavoured to express this very guttural word in pronouncing it Xerxes, which they mistook for a proper name. But Xerxes simply signified King, and Arta-Xerxes Great King, the usual title of the Iranian monarchs. The modern Persians have softened *Arta-Shketr* into *Ardeshir*.

(For further information the reader may consult the works of MM. Anquetil du Perron, De Sacy, and Langlès.)

These etymologies appear to me to be well founded; and I am much disposed to conclude from them, that the history of the antediluvian

Kings of Babylon was a figment composed long after the Persians had destroyed the ancient Chaldean monarchy. I am well aware of the prejudices which exist with regard to etymological researches, nor do I deny that these prejudices may sometimes be justified. But I cannot agree with those who would reject an argument merely because it was founded on an etymology. I cannot help, for example, considering it as a strong additional proof of the Phœnicians having been in Sicily, that many of the ancient names of places in that country have been so clearly traced to the Phœnician language by the learned Bochart.

## CHAPTER V.

*The same subject continued.*

THE antediluvian Kings of Babylon are said to have reigned during the term of 120 *saroi.*

The *saros*, or *sar*, taken as a lunar cycle, may be said to have contained, in round numbers, 18 years, and so it was apparently generally understood by the Chaldeans. But in examining the period more strictly, we find that 18 solar years, including leap years, contain only 6574 days, and nearly 12 hours; whereas 223 lunar synodical months contain 6585 days, and nearly 8 hours. The excess of the cycle, over 18 solar years, was consequently 10 days, and nearly 20 hours.

The period called the *sar* was probably employed for the purpose of calculating eclipses.

I shall briefly explain this statement, in case I should have any reader not so well acquainted with astronomy as to understand it without some elucidation.

The plane of the moon's orbit not being coincident with that of the earth, there can be no eclipse either of the sun or moon, as must be obvious, except when the latter in her orbit cuts the plane of the ecliptic. The points, where the moon's orbit cuts the ecliptic, are called her nodes; and when these are in a right line with the sun's centre at the new moon, the sun will be eclipsed; as will the moon, when the same thing happens at her full. The general limit of solar eclipses is 17° from the nodes, and that of lunar eclipses about 12°. But the moon's motion is unequal both in longitude and latitude; and in order to know her mean motion, men must have begun by making themselves acquainted with her anomalies. It would, however, be soon observed, that the nodes retrograde, or go contrary to the earth's annual motion, about 19°⅓ in the space of a year; and that consequently the sun comes round to them every

year about 19 days sooner than he had done the preceding year. The astronomers of ancient times would therefore easily perceive, that, when the sun and moon have been in a line of conjunction at the nodes, they will return nearly to the same position in the space of 223 lunar synodical months.

Let us now turn our attention to the periods assigned to the reigns of the antediluvian Kings of Chaldea. I shall first consider the reigns of *Alapar*, *Amenon*, and *Amegalar;* and afterwards those of *Alor*, *Amphis*, and *Otiartes*. This examination will suffice to show, that the whole history of these Kings is nothing else than an astronomical allegory.

1. *Alapar*. Ptolemy indicates in the fourth book of the Almagest, that some ancient authors tripled the period called the *sar*, and formed another, which has been designated the cycle of 54 years. The reader will remark, that the reign of *Alapar* lasted three *sars*, or in round numbers 54 years. During this period the nodes would have made the circuit of the zodiac three times. The exact duration of the cycle, how-

ever, as employed by astronomers, amounted to 54 years, and 34 days, *minus* 51 minutes. Now as the nodes returned within something less than a degree and a half, at the close of this period, to the position which they held at the beginning, eclipses could be calculated forwards for 54 years by the inventors of this cycle.

2. *Amenon* reigned 12 *sars*, in round numbers 216 years. This reign was therefore equal in length to the cycle of 54 years multiplied by 4. For astronomical purposes it must be reckoned at 216 years, 147 days, equal to 2676 lunations. Consequently the nodes had made the circuit of the zodiac 12 times; and their position at the end of the period would be found about five or six degrees from where it was at the beginning.

3. *Amegalar*. The reign of this King extended to 18 *sars*, in round numbers 324 years; and was equal to the cycle of 54 years multiplied by 6. Calculated for the use of astronomers, this period must be reckoned at 324 years, 203 days, and about 19 hours, the number of lunations being 4014. But the nodes

would not be removed by more than 8 or 9 degrees* from their position at the commencement of the period; and consequently lunar eclipses might still be calculated with sufficient general accuracy for the duration of the whole cycle.

4. Let us now return to *Alor*, the first fabulous monarch of Babylon. He is said to have reigned 10 *sars*, a period equal in round numbers to 180 years. This is therefore the celebrated Oriental cycle, of which the invention is attributed by the Persians to Gem Shid. I shall have to speak of this cycle more fully in another place.

5. The reign of *Amphis* likewise lasted 10 *sars*, or 180 years; and his successor *Otiartes* reigned during 8 *sars*, or 144 years. The reader will remember what Bailli has said of these two periods. He may also consult my memoir on the Zodiac of Denderah.† There can, indeed, be no doubt, that the Oriental nations were well acquainted with astronomy. Sir W. Jones

* I have no tables at hand to enable me to speak with more exact precision.

† Printed in the *Classical Journal*, Nos. 47 to 50.

seems to me to have clearly proved, that the ancient Indians had calculated with great exactness the motion of the stars in longitude; and if the Babylonians had not likewise calculated the precession of the equinoxes with accuracy, the periods of 144, and of 180 years seem very unaccountable. Certain it is, that if the years assigned to the reign of *Amphis* be multiplied by those assigned to the reign of *Otiartes*, the whole will be equal to 25,920 years, the exact period in which the pole of the equator moves round that of the ecliptic, and gives the appearance of a complete sideral revolution.

6. The Chaldeans say, that their antediluvian Kings reigned during 120 *sars*, in round numbers 2160 years. This then is the exact period, in which the sun recedes through a sign of the zodiac; and makes the 12th part of the great cycle of 25,920 years.

That the Chaldeans should have reckoned the *sar* in round numbers at 18 years appears to me so probable, that I can scarcely suppose it to be disputed. They could always keep their reckoning of time with sufficient exactness,

since they were acquainted with the cycle of 235 lunations, the invention of which has been ascribed to Meton, but which, as Bailli has remarked, was known to the Orientalists, ages before the existence of Meton.

From the sketch which I have here given, it must be evident, I think, that the reigns of the 10 antediluvian Kings of Babylon were mere inventions, referring to certain astronomical periods known to the Chaldeans.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The same subject continued.*

Most of those, who have looked into the fragments of Berosus, which were collected by Polyhistor, and which have been preserved by Eusebius and Georgius Syncellus, have turned away from them, disgusted with their absurdity and extravagance. If, indeed, we could give faith for a moment to the account of the Babylonian historian, we should believe, that Chaldea, in the first ages of the world, had been peopled by a race of monsters—hermaphrodites, centaurs, and satyrs—men with the tails of fishes, and the heads of dogs. In short Berosus seems to have placed before us a picture filled with all the monstrous and chimerical forms, which can be supposed to haunt the dreams of a disordered imagination.

The task which I have undertaken has obliged me to examine with attention, not always unwearied, the statements contained in this fabulous history; and I am induced to think, after removing the rubbish under which they are hidden, that some objects worthy of notice may be discovered in the midst of this apparent chaos.

The author seems to have intended to describe the state of the world, or at least of his own country, in the first ages of its existence. But in order to excite the attention, or perhaps to meet the notions, of his contemporaries, he has adopted the language of allegory, and has left his readers to seek for the truth amidst the ænigmas and metaphors, which crowd his narrative, and obscure his meaning.

In considering, therefore, the account of the antediluvian world, as given by Berosus, to be generally allegorical, we shall probably see all the difficulties disappear, which had before encountered us at every line. I am well aware that there are some persons, who love not to hear, that even the most fabulous histories can

be explained, when understood as allegories; but upon this occasion, at least, let those persons recollect the words of Polyhistor, to which I have already alluded—ἀλλεγορικῶς δέ φησιν τοῦτο μὲν φυσιολογεῖσθαι. If this remark be well applied to one part of this history, it may be justly concluded, that all the fabulous parts of the same narrative may also have been intended for allegories. Thus the centaurs of Berosus may represent the first men, who mounted and subdued the wild steeds of the desert. In the satyrs of the same fabulist we may recognise the mountain tribes, that drank the milk, and clothed themselves with the shaggy hides, of their goats. The monsters, who with the bodies of men had the heads of bulls, may have been the symbols of the herdsmen who defended their cattle against the attacks of beasts of prey. Those, who dwelt on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, and who gained their livelihood by fishing, may have been represented under the forms of men with the tails of fishes; and the dog-headed monsters may have typified the

hunters of the forest, who shared with their dogs the dangers and the pleasures of the chace.

Considered under this point of view the language of Berosus becomes intelligible; and the author, ceasing to be a fabulist, rises to the rank of an historian.

Polyhistor proceeds to relate, on the authority of Berosus, that a certain female, of the name of *Omoroka*, presided over the dragons, the serpents, and all the multiform monsters, which nature had then produced, and of which representations still existed in the temple of Belus, the God of the Babylonians. The representations in the temple of Belus were probably nothing else than the zodiacal symbols, similar to those which have been found in several Egyptian temples; but it may be doubted, whether Polyhistor clearly understood Berosus, for he goes on to state, that *Omoroka* was also named Θαλάτθ, *Thalatth*, which, he says, signifies *the sea* in Chaldaic. This writer might have as well made the Chaldeans speak Attic Greek at once, and have given us Θάλαττα, *thalatta*. The name,

however, may have been originally written תל־עז, *thal-az, the mighty heap, the prodigious accumulation;* thus indicating the mass of waters, which, as it is evident from the first chapter of Genesis, originally covered the face of the earth.

Berosus then goes on to relate, according to Polyhistor, that Belus cut *Omoroka* into two, and that of one portion he formed the heavens, and the earth of the other. But the name of *Omoroka* is evidently a Greek corruption for ים־ו־רקיע *im-o-rokya*, or *yam-ve-rokya,—yam* signifies the *sea*, and *rokya* the *firmament*, or *expanse*. *Rokya* is indeed the very word employed in the first chapter of Genesis; and it is not improbable that Berosus, when he said, that his God had divided the allegorical *Omoroka* into two, at the creation of the earth, (that is to say, had divided the waters from the firmament,) may have had in view the words of Scripture, as we find them at Gen. i. 6, ויאמר אלהים יהי רקיע בתוך המים ויהי מבדיל בין מים למים, *and God said, let there be a firmament (rokya) in the midst of the waters, and let there be a division of waters from waters*—literally *inter aquas ad aquas.*

Polyhistor, Apollodorus, and Abydenus, make mention of several monsters, that landed on the shores of the Erythrean sea, or Persian Gulph, and visited Babylonia. Of these the first, and most famous, was *Oannes*. Half man and half fish, this amphibious monster passed the day on land, and returned at night to the watery element. But his visit was of infinite utility to the Babylonians. He instructed them in the arts and sciences; taught them the principles of religion; and gave them wise and salutary laws.

After the time of *Oannes* several other monsters, similar to him in appearance, landed on the coast, and visited Babylon. Their names are reported to have been *Euedokos*, *Anedotos*, *Eneugamos*, *Eneuboulos*, *Anementos*, and *Anodaphos*.

It is no easy task to trace Oriental names to their source, from the forms which they bear in the writings of the Greeks. In the case before us the corruptions are evident. Every termination is Greek; and, where it was possible, each name has been altered to please the ear, and to suit the orthography of a people, who considered

all languages but their own as rude and barbarous.

The story of *Oannes* and of his followers can be nothing else than an allegorical fiction. Some writers have supposed *Oannes* to have been a solar symbol, similar to that of *Dagon;* and as we shall presently see, that *Dagon* was one of the monsters that visited Babylon, this may very possibly have been the case. But although the sun may have been typified by this "brute image," yet the Chaldeans probably gave various interpretations to this allegorical symbol. The word אן *an*, or און *aon*, from which the name of *Oannes* was apparently obtained, signifies *strength*, *labour*, *wealth*, but perhaps especially *the strength which generates*. Thus the first-born of a man was called ראשית־אנו "the beginning of his strength." (Deut. xxi. 17.); and one of the expressions of Jacob to Reuben is ראשית אוני "beginning of my strength." The Chaldeans and Egyptians probably worshipped the sun under the name of *Oan*, or *Aon*, or *On*, or *An*, with reference to his generating power.

But the allegorical fable of *Oannes* appears

to have borne various meanings. Among these one especially seems obvious; and the allegory indicates, that after the Babylonians began to trade with other countries, and that after the fleets, perhaps of India, began to navigate the Erythrean sea, the tribes that dwelt near the mouth of the Euphrates, and finally the Chaldeans themselves, became civilized, rich, and powerful. The foreign merchants and mariners, who sailed up the Euphrates in their small vessels for the purposes of commerce, instructed the inhabitants in various arts, and taught them the civil and religious institutions of nations more refined than their own. These strangers lived on shore during the day, and retired at night on board their vessels. Here then is the fable, at least in part, explained of the monster *Oannes*, who, half man and half fish, came from the Erythrean sea, conversed with the Babylonians during the day, and returned to the water at night—who taught them the arts, and rendered them a civilized and opulent people.

The name of *Euedokos*, in the Armenian translation of Eusebius, is written *Iotagus;* and Eu-

sebius himself writes it in one instance *Odakon*. There can be little doubt then, that the name is the same with that of *Dagon;* and here there is ample room for imagining the form of a fish, since דג, *dag*, in Hebrew and Chaldaic, signified a fish. The symbol was probably taken to indicate the generating power of the sun, on account of the extraordinary fecundity of many of the finny tribes. For the same reason the Syrians adored the moon, as the representative of the productive power, under the form of a fish. The Philistines named the idol of the sun *Dagon, the fish;* and the Syrians called the idol of the moon *Adera-Daga, the splendid fish*, which name the Greeks corrupted into *Derceto* and *Atergatis*. In both instances a human body ended in a fish's tail; but the idol of the Philistines had the body of a man, and that of the Syrians the body of a female.

It is easy to believe then, that the heliolators of Babylon had a similar idol of the sun; and that they gave to this idol the form of a fish, as a symbol of the generating power of their deity. But *Euedokos* or *Iotagos*, or *Odakon*, as he is va-

riously called, was probably the same with Oannes, for Oannes was represented with the body of a man, and with the tail of a fish. Now *Euedokos*, or *Odakon*, may be easily traced to the words הוא־דג, *hua-dag*, *this fish*, or אדג, *adag*, *the fish*, in the original Chaldaic.

But while the Babylonian historian represented *Dagon* under the form which this idol generally bore, he might have had other meanings of the name in view. דגן, *Dagan*, signifies corn. *Dagon*, according to Sanchoniatho, was one of the sons of *Ouranos*, (Heaven); and the Greek translator, Philo Byblius, renders the name of *Dagon* by Σιτὼν, *Siton*, *(quasi frumenti præses;)* and adds that he was called Ζεὺς ἀρότριος, *(Jupiter arator*, or *Jupiter agricola)*. It is not unlikely then, that *Dagon* was otherwise called in Phœnician בעל חרוש, *Beel Harish*, *(Dominus arationis)*. The Chaldeans may therefore have also adored the sun under the name of *Dagon*, or, (as they often prefixed an *aleph* to words,) *Adagon*, which sounds very like *Odakon*, and which, indeed, it cannot be doubted, is the same word.

Thus we see the allegory still continued. The strangers, who came from the Erythrean sea, introduced the worship of the sun, which was considered by the Tsabaists as a symbol of the Divinity. They taught the natives to adore the generating power, which they represented under the form of a fish, on account of the fecundity of aquatic animals; but by the name of *Dagon* they could also denote the influence of the same power in producing and multiplying the fruits of the earth. The adoration of Dagon, the *Deus frumentarius* of the Phœnician and Chaldean idolators, marks the introduction of agriculture, which, Berosus implies, was due to the strangers, who instructed the Babylonians in the arts and sciences.

Let us now consider the names of the other monsters which visited Babylon.

We may esteem it as probable, that the first syllable, in all the names which follow, *Anedotus*, *Eneugamos*, *Eneuboulos*, *Anementos*, and *Anedaphos*, was the same in Chaldaic. If I mistake not the meaning of the author of the allegory, he intended to indicate by these names the vegetable pro-

ductions of the soil, after the appearance of *Oannes* and *Odakon*, that is to say, after the introduction of commerce and agriculture into the country—a country, be it remembered, which commerce and agriculture rendered the richest of the world, and which, by the failure of these, has returned to the state of desolation, from which they probably first caused its emancipation.

The first syllable, in the five names cited above, appears to me to have been אן, *an*, a word variously pronounced *an*, *en*, *on*, &c. I have already explained the meaning of this word, which was also often written און, and pronounced *aon*, *on*, *aven*, &c. In the examples before us, in which the author probably meant to indicate the rapid progress of vegetation, the word seems to bear its proper sense, and to signify *generating strength*, or the abundance of the vegetable tribes produced by that strength.

I shall proceed to give the etymologies of the names in question. The reader will observe, that if I write אנא *ana* for אן *an*, it is in supplying the emphatic *aleph*, according to the custom of the Chaldeans, who postfixed this letter,

where the Hebrews would have prefixed the letter ה *he*. The reader will also recollect, that the Greeks generally gave a Greek termination to foreign words. I think then that the following names may be easily traced to the Chaldaic.

*Anadotos*—אנא־דתא, *ana-dota, vis graminis.*—*Eneugamos*—אנא־גמא, *ana-gama, vis papyri, vel vis junci.*—*Eneuboulos*—אנא־יבול, *ana-yebul, vis proventûs, vel vis fructûs.*—*Anementos*—אנא־מנטע, *ana-mènta, vis plantæ.*—*Anedaphos*—אנא־תפוח, *ana-taphuh, vis citri.*

No just objection, I think, can be made to any of these etymologies; unless it be to the word מנטע, *menta*. But though this word does not occur, as far as I know, yet it makes a regular participial noun from the verb נטע, *nata, plantavit*. And even supposing this argument not to be good, it may be observed, that the Hebrew word מטע, *meta*, a plant, might be written מנטע, *menta*, according to the frequent practice of the Chaldeans in similar instances.

To those who are aware how much the Greeks altered Oriental names, these etymologies will not appear remote or improbable. It may be

supposed that from the time of Alexander, without referring to more ancient periods, the Greeks had continual intercourse with the Persians, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Jews, and Egyptians; and yet they seem never to have been able to speak or to write with accuracy the languages of those nations. They appear, however, to have been in general better acquainted with the Phœnician and its cognate dialects, than with the Egyptian and Persian. Nevertheless they have left abundance of examples of the difficulty with which they put foreign words, even belonging to those best known dialects, into such a form as would render them tolerable to the eyes and ears of their fastidious countrymen. Without referring to the Septuagint, we may find sufficient proofs of this assertion in profane authors. Thus they wrote—*Καρχηδὼν*, for קרתא־חדתא, *Karta-hadta* — *Αἴτνα*, for אתונא, *Atuna*—*Ἐλιογάβαλος*, for אלי־עגל־בעל, *Eli-egul-Baal*—*Ἀγλιβώλος*, for עגלי־בעל, *Agli-Baal*—*Ἴλος*, for אל, *El*—*Τύρος*, for צור, *Tsur*—*Ἀσδρούβας*, for אדר־בעל, *Ader-Baal*—(*Persice* انر بعل *Azer-Baal*) —*Ἀννίβας*, for חני־בעל, *Hanni-Baal*—*Δαμασκὸς*,

for דמשק, *Dameshek*—*Ἀστάρτη*, for עשתרות, *Ashteroth*—*Δερκέτο*, for אדר־גד, *Ader-gad*—*Γάζα*, for עזה, *Azah*, &c.

If then the exposition, which I have given of this allegorical history, be consonant, as I think it is, with the meaning of the author, it will appear that the Babylonians considered their country to have been already rich and flourishing before the deluge. But, it will be said, where historical records are wanting, we can give little faith to the writer, who trusts to the authority of a few doubtful and unconnected traditions, and who fills up the blanks with allegories and fables. Still however it is curious to know, what so celebrated a people as the Babylonians thought of the early history of the world, of the establishment of their monarchy, of the origin of society, and of the progress of civilization. In the allegorical picture drawn by Berosus, his countrymen, in the first stages of society, are represented as rude and barbarous. The arrival of ships, and intercourse with strangers more polished than themselves—the introduction of agriculture—the establishment of a religious sys-

tem—and the advantages of commerce, soon promoted, as the historian intimates, the civilization of the inhabitants; and Babylonia, from having been overrun with wild beasts, and peopled by savages, wore the aspect of a garden. The country abounded with grass and corn—the papyrus, that useful plant, no longer grew in vain on the banks of the Euphrates—and the citron, with other fruits, were produced in abundance. Such is the picture, with which Berosus has presented us, when the veil of allegory is withdrawn; but it is a picture, which, of course, can never become visible to those, who are predetermined to see nothing in the mythology of the ancient Orientalists but a tissue of absurd and unmeaning falsehoods.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Of the history of the deluge according to Berosus.*

WHETHER before and since the great deluge in the time of Noach, there have been partial deluges, which have considerably changed the face of the earth, is a question well worthy of examination. Many writers have considered the deluges, which are stated to have existed in the time of the Chinese Emperor *Yao*, of the Iranian monarch *Husheng*, of Ogyges, and of Deucalion, as well as that which took place when the isle Atlantis was submerged, to have been partial, and to have happened at different periods. I shall perhaps have occasion to examine this interesting question in another part of my work; and I shall now proceed to consider the account, which the Babylonians appear, from the frag-

ments of Polyhistor and Abydenus, to have given of the great deluge.

Xisuthrus, it is said, after having reigned 18 *sars*, was warned in a dream by Saturn, that, on the fifteenth day of the month *Dæsius*, mankind should perish by a deluge. The name, which the Greeks have here rendered by *Κρόνος*, was probably בל, *Bel*, in the original; as we learn from Photius, that the Phœnicians and Syrians called Saturn *El*, *Bel*, and *Bolathen*: *Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον Ἦλ καὶ Βὴλ καὶ Βολάθην ἐπονομάζουσιν.* *Bolathen* is a manifest corruption for בל־איתן, *Bel-itan*, *Bel fortis*.

The Babylonian historian probably named the month *Tar*, which his Greek interpreters have altered to *Dæsius*. This was the ninth month, according to the kalendar of the Syro-Macedonians; and the first day of the month *Dæsius* answered to the 25th of our month of April.

It may be thought at first sight, that Berosus could not have copied the Mosaic account in this instance, or that he must have purposely varied from it. We shall soon meet with exam-

ples of his having preferred either the traditions of others, or his own inventions, to the history of the deluge as it is given by Moses; but we shall find, in the case before us, that he meant to follow it exactly.

It is said in the Book of Genesis, that the deluge commenced on the 17th day of the 2d month. But the sacred historian reckoned here according to the months of the old Hebrew year, which year began with the first new moon after the autumnal equinox; and consequently he meant to say, that the deluge began on the 17th day of the month which has since been named *Marshesvan*, answering to part of October, and to part of November, in our kalendar.

Now the Chaldean year, like the year instituted by Moses himself, *(see Exod.* xii.*)* began with the first new moon after the vernal equinox, Berosus, therefore, might have easily mistaken the second month of the old Hebrew year, for the second month of the new Hebrew year, and have written *Tar*, where he ought to have written *Marshesvan*. He was probably not aware that the sacred historian, previously to

the institution of the Passover, reckoned the month *Abib*, called *Nisan* in later times, as the seventh month of the year.

Labouring under this mistake, Berosus of course considered *Nisan* as the first month, and *Tar* as the second. Now if he reckoned the commencement of the month *Nisan*, for the year of the deluge, to have taken place on the second day after the vernal equinox; or, in other words, if he supposed the new moon to have happened on that day, which answers to the 23d of March in our kalendar, the 17th of the month *Tar* would correspond to the 9th of our month of May. But when the Greek translators had to make the time answer to their own kalendar, they wrote the 15th of *Dæsius* for the 17th of *Tar*, because the Syro-Macedonian month *Dæsius* commenced on the 25th of April, and consequently the 15th of *Dæsius* answered in this instance to the 17th of *Tar*, or to the 9th of May.

The narrative goes on to say, that Saturn commanded Xisuthrus to bury all the writings, or records, in *Sipari*, the city of the sun. Pto-

lemy mentions a city of the name of *Sipphara*, near Seleucia. There was a city in Judea called *Kiriat-sepher*, the city of the book, or record; and we learn from Esdras, that search was made, by order of Darius, for a decree *in the house of the rolls* (בבית־ספריא, *be bith Sepharia*) at Babylon. Thus we find, that among the ancient nations of the East, not only houses, but cities were set apart for the purpose of preserving the public records. *Kiriat-sepher*, in Judea, must have been so named by the Canaanites, more than 1400 years before the Christian æra.

The Babylonian monarch was next commanded to build a ship, to conduct his family on board, and to take with him all kinds of animals, and the nourishment necessary for their sustenance. Already we may perceive, that Berosus begins to borrow largely from the narrative of the sacred historian; but the debt is not acknowledged, and some puerile variations in the account seem to show, that the writer was not unwilling to conceal it altogether. The ark was 300 cubits in length, and 50 in breadth. According to his Greek interpreter,

Berosus makes Xisuthrus build a ship five *stadia* in length, and two in breadth; and supposing the *stadium*, understood here, to have been only the 10th part of a short Chaldean mile, or 45th part of a parasanga, the ship in question would have measured 1650 feet in length, and 660 in breadth. If we take the *stadium* at the 34th part of a parasanga, which was a measure apparently much in use in Chaldea, the length of the ship would be 2175 feet, and its breadth 870 feet. No doubt Xisuthrus had more room than Noach; but in trying to remove an obstacle on one side, the author has created new difficulties for himself on the other. He should have told us, at least, where the timber was found for constructing this mighty floating edifice. We are informed that Xisuthrus took a pilot on board, a precaution that was surely needless, while he sailed on a sea without a shore; neither is it explained, how this pilot managed to steer a vessel, which apparently had neither sails nor oars, and which, at the least computation, must have been more than a quarter of a mile in length.

It seems to have been solely with the view of appearing to have drawn his information from other sources than from the Hebrew Scriptures, that Berosus has varied from the Mosaic account in stating, that Xisuthrus took with him his relations and friends; that he landed with his wife, and daughter, and the pilot, before the rest of his companions had left the ship; that these four persons disappeared, after having adored the Gods; and that the others, having sought for them in vain, returned to Babylon. In other particulars the account does not materially differ from that given in the book of Genesis. Xisuthrus sends forth birds to ascertain, whether, or not, the waters be subsided; he builds an altar, and offers a sacrifice, when he quits the ship; and his companions discover, that the place, where the vessel has rested, is situate in a region of Armenia.

To these details it is added, that fragments of a vessel had been found on one of the mountains of the *Kordyæ*, or *Gordyæ;* and it may be observed, that Josephus, and Nicolaus Damascenus, besides some of the Rabbin, assert that

even so late as their days the remains of the Ark might be seen on a mountain of Armenia.

There has been much discussion concerning the spot where the Ark rested. The Hebrew historian, who seldom says enough to satisfy idle curiosity, merely tells us that it rested על הרי אררט, on the mountains of Ararat. But where were the mountains of Ararat? The voice of tradition places them in Armenia; but this is an extensive and mountainous country, and curiosity still remains unsatisfied. According to several authorities, Ararat was only another name for Armenia. In the Vulgate the words cited above are rendered *super montes Armeniæ.* At Isaiah xxxvii. 38, the words נמלטו ארץ אררט are translated διεσώθησαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, by the LXX, and, *they escaped into the land of Armenia,* in the English version. Again at 2d Kings, xix. 37, where the same words occur, *Ararat* is rendered *Armenia.*

Now although the name of Armenia be so familiar to our ears, yet it no where occurs in the Hebrew text. We may then presume, from the authorities cited above, that Ararat was the

name, by which the Hebrews knew, at least, a considerable portion of the country, which the Greeks called Armenia. It must, however, be remembered, that the Greeks extended this name to provinces, which are no longer considered as Armenian. But as this subject requires some detail, I shall postpone the examination of it at present, and resume my enquiries in the succeeding chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### *Of the Mountains of Ararat.*

THE inhabitants of two different regions have disputed, and still dispute, the honour of possessing the mountains of Ararat in the districts where they dwell. Each party has had champions among learned men, of whom probably neither ever heard.

1. Jerom describes Ararat as a champaign and fertile country, through which the Araxes flows, and as lying at the foot of that part of Mount Taurus, on which Noach was liberated from the ark after the deluge. The mountain indicated by Jerom is clearly that, which lies about 30 miles to the south of Erivan, and on the right bank of the Araxes. It is called *Agri-dag*, the high mountain, by the Turks, and

*Macis* by the Armenians, who also frequently name it *Koh-Noach*, Noach's hill; nor would it be prudent to express a doubt at Erivan that the ark rested on the summit of this hill, where fragments of the wood might yet be seen, were the ascent practicable to the steps of the traveller.

The name of Erivan is said by its inhabitants to signify *appearing*, because Noach gave this epithet to the land, which he first descried, when he looked from the window in the ark. It appears, however, that the Patriarch, when he descended from the mountain, directed his course to a valley, at the distance of 70 miles from Erivan, where he founded a city, thence called *Nakhid-chevan*, or, as I should write it, *Nakhuz-shivan*, the first descent.

Some objections may be urged against these etymologies. The language of Noach was Hebrew, and with the good leave of Moses Chorenensis, and of M. Villotte, it seems rather improbable that, in naming the first land which he saw after the deluge, the Patriarch should have expressed himself by the aid of an Arme-

nian participle. It is besides to be remarked, that much more obvious etymologies of the name of *Erivan*, or *Irvan*, may be found, without going quite so far back as the deluge to meet with them.

To me it appears, that Erivan signifies the mountain fortress, or the mountain guard. Many remains of fortifications are still to be seen at Erivan. I believe the word *her*, *har*, or *hara*, signified a mountain not only in Hebrew and Syriac, but in the ancient languages of Armenia, Media, and Persia. *Van* signifies a guard, guardian, fortress, &c. in Persian and in Armenian. It is very possible, however, that there may have been a *pyreum* here, and if any should choose to read *Hyr-van*, fire-guardian, I shall not dispute the etymology.

*Nakhuz-shivan* (generally called by abbreviation *Nacchivan*,) is probably the same city, which Ptolemy has named *Naxuana;* and it may appear at first sight, that the interpretation, given by the Armenians to this name, is really very ancient, because Josephus tells us, that the spot where Noach sacrificed, after quitting the

ark, was called ἀποβατήειον, *the place of the descent*, by the Armenians. But there may be reason to think, as we shall presently see, that Josephus alluded to the name of a village in another part of the country; and *Nakhuz-shivan*, or *Nakhust-shivan*, may surely be translated *the first*, or *the beginning of the valleys;* a sense which the name will easily bear, and for which the situation of the place sufficiently accounts, without the necessity of making any reference either to Noach, or to the ark.

2. We have seen already, that the ship of Xisuthrus rested, according to Berosus, on the Kordyæan mountains. The two targumists, Jonathan and Onkelos, say nearly the same thing of the ark of Noach at Gen. viii. 4.—the former stating, that it rested on the mountains of *Kardon*, and the latter only differing from him, by naming these mountains *Kardu*. It is clear then, that Jonathan and Onkelos, no incompetent judges, considered the mountains of *Kardon*, or *Kardu*, to be the same with the mountains of Ararat.

Now there can be little doubt, that these

were the same mountains of Armenia, which the Greeks have variously named the *Kordyæan*, the *Gordyæan*, and the *Karduchian;* which the Arabians sometimes call *Karud*, or *Kard;* but which are more generally known, in the neighbourhood of Mosul, by the corrupted denominations of *Godi*, and *Giodi*. These mountains, which now belong to Kurdistan, were formerly included, as Major Rennell justly observes, within the limits of Armenia.

Ptolemy mentions the Gorden, as being near the sources of the Tigris; and this error is the more remarkable, that several writers, previous to his time, had described with sufficient general accuracy the position of the Gordyæan mountains. The researches of modern geographers enable us to be yet more exact.

The Tigris, issuing from its principal source near Argana, flows towards the south-east, through the great valley of *Dirya-bekir*, where its waters anciently formed a large lake, having the ridges of the mountain, called Niphates by the ancients, on its left bank, and those of the mountain, which they named Masius, on its

right. To the east and south-east rise the mountains of Kurdistan, and the river finds its egress out of the great valley, in passing between these mountains, and mount Masius. Now the mountains of Kurdistan, at the feet of which the Tigris flows, between the termination of the great valley of *Dirya-bekir*, at its south-east extremity, and the city, or village, of Gezirah, are the same, which are supposed, at least by their inhabitants, to be the mountains of Ararat, and are certainly the same with the Karduchian, or Gordyæan mountains, mentioned by various Greek authors, and particularly by Xenophon and Strabo.

But as the Tigris flows at no great distance from the mountains of Kurdistan, all the way from the great valley of Dirya-bekir to Mosul, that is, nearly about 100 English miles, it may be necessary to speak with more exactness of the mountain pointed out by the tradition of ages as that on which the ark rested after the deluge.

Bochart has cited three Oriental writers, who have indicated this mountain—Benjamin

Judæus, Georgius Elmacinus, and an anonymous Arabian geographer.

The first of these writers states, *that he came to the isle of Ben Omar, in the middle of the river Hedekel, (or Tigris) at the feet of the mountains of Ararat, four miles distant from the place, where Noach's ark rested.* The isle of Ben Omar is more commonly known by the name of Jezirah; and Major Rennell informs us, that the mountains of Jeudi are four miles from the eastern bank of the Tigris at Jezirah. The reader will observe, that *Jeudi*, or *Giudi*, is a corruption from *Godi*, which is itself corrupted from *Gordy*.

Elmacinus, speaking of Heraclius, says, *that he went to the village of Tsemanin (that is, of eight) which Noach built, after he came out of the ark; and that he afterwards ascended the mountain of Godi, where he saw the place of the ark, which is extremely high, and is elevated above all the rest of the country.*

The Arabian geographer tells us, *that there are* 21 *miles from Mosul to the city of Balad, and* 69 *from Balad to the isle of Ebn Omar, which is*

*adjacent to the mountains of Temanin, (or, as Bochart properly reads it, Tsemanin,) of Masurin, and of Kilsabur, to which chain of mountains belongs Mount Godi, hanging over Amida, opposite to the district where are the fortresses. But Mount Temanin (Tsemanin) is the same as Godi, on which the ship of Noach rested,* &c. Now there is certainly an error here, but whether it belong to the anonymous Arabian, or to Bochart, I cannot say, as the latter has translated without citing the text of the original; but *Amida* is situated in the great valley of Dirya-bekir, at the distance of 90 English miles from the Gordyæan mountains. It is probable then, that the Arabian writer meant *Amadieh*, which is placed, in Major Rennell's map, near to the mountain now called Giudi, or Godi, by the Arabians.

Let us compare these accounts with that shortly given by Major Rennell. *Near the northern extremity of the plain of Zaco,* says this celebrated geographer, *stands the village of Nahrawan. This village, according to the Mahometans, is denominated from the Patriarch Noach;*

*and opposite to it, on the high mountains of Jeudi, the Mahometan dervishes have erected a temple in honour of him: for according to their idea the ark rested there. Mr. Sullivan saw the lights, which are kept constantly burning in the temple. The name Jeudi is said to have reference to the number of persons in the ark.*

It seems probable, however, that the present name of the village has been substituted for another; and that its ancient name may have been *Nah-shivan,* Noach's descent. According to Josephus, (Antiq. l. i. 3.) the spot, where the Patriarch sacrificed, after leaving the ark, was called *the place of descent.* Now Josephus does not appear to have spoken of any spot in the vicinity of Erivan; because he says in another place (Antiq. l. 22.), *that Monobazus gave to his son the country called Kairon, of which the soil is productive of abundance of amomum, and where there are also the remnants of the ark, in which Noach escaped from the deluge; which remnants are still to be seen by those who wish it.* The name of *Kairon* is probably an error of the copyist; and the remark of Bochart seems just,

when he supposes that Josephus wrote *Kardon*, as Jonathan has done in his targum. Besides *amomum* grows in plenty, as is attested by Strabo and other writers, on the Gordyæan mountains; and no one ever heard of its being produced on Mount Macis.

The village of Nahrawan was also known to the Arabians by another name; for this is, no doubt, the village, which Elmacinus denominated *kariat tsamin*, the village of Eight. It is, however, not a little remarkable, that a French traveller of the name of Guillaume Rubruquis, who visited Armenia in the time of Louis IX, asserts, that there was a town called *Cemainum*, in the neighbourhood of Mount Macis, which was reported to have been founded by the eight persons, who came out of the ark. Bochart, who cites the passage in question, refers the name of this town to the Hebrew word *seman*, which signifies *eight;* but as no other traveller, as far as I can find, has ever mentioned such a town in the neighbourhood of Mount Macis, I am inclined to think that the Sieur Rubruquis must have been misled by some false report; or

that having heard of the village of *Tseman*, as being near the mountain of the ark, concluded too hastily, that it must therefore have been near Mount Macis, instead of the Gordyæan mountains.

Major Rennell ought to have been aware, that *Jeudi*, as he writes the name, can have no reference to the number of persons in the ark. The mountain, having been called *Tseman*, (or *Tsemanin* if we attend to the *nunnation*,) by the Arabians, it might have easily happened, that the ignorant natives attached the signification of this word to the denomination, which they themselves gave to it, which, as I have before observed, is a corruption for Gordy.

With respect to the temple, in which lights were always kept burning, and which has been supposed to have been erected by Mahometan dervishes in honour of Noach, I should greatly suspect, that it was nothing else than a *pyreum*. According to D'Anville the worship of fire still exists among the Kurds. *Il y a parmi eux*, says the French geographer, *quelques races d'anciens ignicoles*.

Now although some of the traditions, preserved by the inhabitants of Nahrawan, may not be better founded than those, which obtain credit at Nacchivan; and although it may seem idle to attempt to indicate the exact spot on which the ark rested; I am yet much inclined to think, that the name of Ararat, which has been supposed by some to denote Armenia, indicated in particular the Gordyæan mountains, and perhaps more generally the whole country now denominated Kurdistan.

The word אררט, *Ararat*, is not of Hebrew origin; and read without the Masoretic punctuation it sounds *Arrt*. Now in many ancient Oriental languages there existed a word, which, though variously pronounced, seems to be in fact the same with that before us. As I have just said, *arrt* is not Hebrew, and bears no sense in that language; but in the ancient Persian, *ard*, *art*, or *arta*, signified, *high*, *great*, *bold*, *strong*, *hard*, *rude*, according to the object, to which it was applied as an epithet. Thus, when the Persians applied it to themselves, it signified *courageous*, *heroic*; and accordingly

Hesychius says, *Ἀρταῖοι, οἱ ἥρωες παρὰ Πέρσαις.* Artaxerxes, as the name is mutilated by the Greeks, signified the *Great King*. A place, in the north of Persia, called *Artacana* by Pliny, was probably written اردا كانه *Arda khanah*, and signified the *great abode, house*, or *tent* (Plin. l. 6. 25.); and the mountain-stream, *Ardiscus*, mentioned by Herodotus, (l. 4.) as having been crossed by Darius on his march, was probably named in Persian, اغز ارد, *Ard ighaz*, the *great*, or *strong torrent*.

In Sanscrit the word *artha* bears the same sense as in Persian; but perhaps more particularly indicating height and loftiness. Hence may have originally come the Greek verb, *ἀρτάω, in altum tollo.*

The same word passed with many others from the Persian into the Gothic, and we still recognise it, though aspirated, in the German and English, *hart, hard, hardy.*

The language of the Kurds, or Khurds, is a barbarous dialect of the ancient Persian much mixed with Arabic and Armenian; and is, like both those languages, extremely guttural.

We cannot therefore be surprised that the word *ard* should be pronounced *khard*, or *khurd*, by this nation; or that, as the ancient Persian soldier called himself *Ard*, the warlike mountaineer on the banks of the Tigris should call himself *Khard*, or *Khurd*, which was the proudest title of nobility, since it implies that he who bears it belongs to a race of heroes.

In the Armenian, a language not less guttural than that of the Khurds, the word *art*, or *ard*, is pronounced *ghort*, or *ghord;* and the Gordyæan mountains appear to be so called to denote their magnitude and loftiness. The Armenians, according to Zohrab, indicate the inhabitants of these mountains by the names of *Gort-vazik* and *Gort-ik*, which he translates *arduorum locorum incolæ*. *Gort-vazik* may bear this meaning; but since *ik* is merely the sign of the plural, *Gortik* ought to be equivalent to *ardan*, or *artan*, in old Persian—ἀρταῖοι, οἱ ἥρωες.

The reader will now perceive, why Onkelos and Jonathan wrote *Kardu* and *Kardon*, for *Ararat*, or *Art;* because he will now be aware that the name is still really the same. The

sacred historian followed the ancient Persian pronunciation; and his paraphrasts adopted the guttural corruption of it in use among the Khurds and Arabs. The word *Ararat* may have been originally pronounced *Har-art, mons magnus.* In the Armenian translation of the Bible it is called *Arararat.* I have already remarked that the use of the word *har*, or *her*, a mountain, was not confined to the Hebrew language.

# CHAPTER IX.

## *Of the building of the Tower of Babel.*

ACCORDING to the sacred historian, the world, after the deluge, was repeopled by the posterity of Japhet, Ham, and Shem. But the three great streams of population, though proceeding from a common source, flowed in opposite directions, and were soon subdivided into many separate channels. The children of Japhet appear to have advanced towards the Tanais; to have entered Europe; and to have gradually peopled every region from the Euxine sea to the isles of the west. In the mean time the descendants of Ham gained the coast of the Mediterranean sea; established themselves in Phœnice, Palestine, and Egypt; colonised the whole northern shores of Africa; took posses-

sion of Ethiopia; thence crossed over the Red sea, and as by a mighty reflux returned upon Asia, poured their redundant population into Arabia, and finally, after having sailed across the gulph of Ormus, spread their wandering tribes over India, whence they passed into China, Scythia, and Iran. During this period the posterity of Shem moved in three different directions —towards Iran and India—towards Chaldea and Arabia—and towards Armenia, Assyria, Syria, and Asia Minor.

But here occurs a question, more interesting, perhaps, to the antiquary, than important to the historian. When, and where, did this dispersion commence? Chronologers and commentators have, indeed, answered this question. They assemble the whole descendants of Noach, about 100 years after the flood, on the plain of Shinar; represent this family as employed in building the tower of Babel; and suppose the general dispersion of mankind to have taken place immediately afterwards. These writers have, no doubt, believed themselves to be supported by the authority of Scripture; and they

have besides been able to allege the testimony of Josephus, and of some other ancient writers in their favour. It is, however, only from the sacred historian himself, that we can learn the truth upon this subject; and his pages are as open to investigation, and are as clearly to be understood at present, as when Petau and Usher framed their chronological systems, or Dom. Calmet wrote his learned commentaries.

Various considerations induce me to believe, that the general dispersion of the descendants of Noach took place ages before the building of the tower of Babel; and that the contrary opinion is not supported by the authority of the sacred historian. I shall submit the following remarks to the judgment of the reader.[1]

1. It cannot, I think, be asserted upon the authority of Scripture, that the general dispersion of mankind took place after the building

[1] I cannot think that these remarks require any apology. Without adverting to changes which may have taken place, within the few last years, in my own opinions, I am certain that I have said nothing here in the spirit of scepticism.

of the tower of Babel; because the sacred historian first states the dispersion of the families of Japhet, Ham, and Shem; mentions the colonies which they planted, and the cities which they built; and then, in a succeeding chapter, records the attempt to build the tower. If this undertaking had been the cause of the dispersion, it would have been natural for the historian to have mentioned it as such, before he introduced his account of the Noachic families, which is really the account of the peopling of the globe of the earth after the deluge.

2. Those, who began to build the tower, had been journeying from the East; and we may thence conclude, that this could not have been the first migration from the mountains of Ararat, which, as I shall have occasion to show, are nearly due north of the plain of Shinar.

3. We are told in the English version of the Bible, that God confounded the language of *all the earth*, and scattered the builders of the tower upon the face of *all the earth*. Now the words כל הארץ appear to me to be wrongly translated; and I would rather render them, *all the land;*

because I think it clear, that the sacred writer only meant the country in which the plain of Shinar was situated. It can be shown from the Bible itself, that the language, spoken by mankind before the flood, was Hebrew; and as that language was the very one in which Moses wrote, it seems improbable that he should say, that the language of *the whole earth* was confounded.

4. But it may be required of me to prove, that Hebrew was the language of the antediluvians. This can be easily done. Witness the speech of Eve on the birth of Kain—"And Adam knew his wife Eve; and she conceived and bare *Kain*, קין, and said קניתי איש את־יהוה, *kainiti aish eth Jehovah*, I have gotten a man from the Lord." *Kain* signifies *possession, acquisition*, and the reference of *Kainiti* to *Kain* shows that Eve spoke in the Hebrew language. We are told, that "Lamech begat a son, ויקרא את־שמו נח לאמר זה ינחמנו ממעשנו, and called his name Noach, saying, this same shall console us after our toil." The verb נחם *nacham* is introduced here with direct reference to the name

of נח *Noach.* The play of words is yet more remarkable, where Noach says, יפת אלהים ליפת *Japhet Elohim lo-Japhet,* "God shall enlarge Japhet."

5. When it is said in the English version of the Bible, that God confounded the language of *all the earth,* there is and can be no exception. How is it possible to suppose, that after this period the language of the antediluvians could have been preserved? But since it was preserved, why should we not translate הארץ *the land,* in this example, as we do in a hundred others? This simple and obvious change removes the whole difficulty.

6. Had the mad attempt to build a tower, which should reach to heaven, been made within a century after the deluge, can it be imagined, that no allusion would have been made to that awful event? The wandering hordes, that stopped on the plain of Shinar, seem to have been only afraid of losing their way, and of being dispersed, which indicates that this had happened to them before. "Let us make a name (a signal), said they, lest we be scattered

over the face of the whole earth (land)." But had the terrible catastrophe of the deluge been recent; had its history been familiar to these roving tribes; or had the fearful desolation caused by it been present to their eyes; would they not have reckoned it among the advantages of their tower, that it would preserve them from the danger of a second inundation? If we adopt the common opinion upon this subject, an opinion not sufficiently considered by those who formed it, we must suppose, that mankind, a century after the deluge, had forgotten its moral cause, and had become indifferent to its physical effects. The moral cause was, apparently at least, the alienation of the whole human race from the worship of the true God, with the exception of Noach and his family; and can it be really and seriously believed, that Noach, who was still alive, and his virtuous sons, Shem and Japhet, would have sanctioned by their presence an undertaking as impious as it was foolish?—an attempt to build a tower which should reach to heaven!

7. After having related the events which had taken place in the plain of Shinar, the sacred historian abruptly changes the subject, details the genealogy of the family of Shem, in the line of Arphaxad and Eber, down to Abram, and proceeds to relate the history of that Patriarch. Now if the attempt to build the tower of Babel had been made only 100 years after the deluge, the connexion between the two subjects is not very obvious. What, indeed, in this case, had the building of the tower of Babel to do with the history of Abram? If, however, we find, as I think we shall do, that the building of the tower took place in the time of Abram; that the site of this tower was in the neighbourhood of *Ur;* and that the impious undertaking of his neighbours, together with their professed idolatry, was one of the principal causes why the Patriarch received his call, and was commanded to quit his native land; the transition, from the history of the builders of the tower to that of Abram, is perfectly natural and intelligible.

8. When the deluge ceased, there were but

eight persons, who had survived it. And what was the situation of these four men, and four women, who were thus left desolate and alone? The whole earth had been submerged; every part of its surface must have borne the marks of its having been overwhelmed by the mighty tide; and it must have been long before the face of Nature, torn and lacerated by the domineering waters, could have recovered its pristine beauty. Long must it have been, before the valleys were habitable; before the fields were cultivated; and before the flocks and herds could graze in safety on the marshy plains. Vast depositions must have been left by the retiring waves; and the rivers, in finding new ways to the sea, must have laid waste and inundated many a realm, ere their channels became either fixed or known. The powers of nature, as they recovered, would only tend to impede the progress of human exertion. The heat of the sun would cause the exhalation of unwholesome vapours from the stagnant waters; and the gradual exsiccation of the soil would be attended with the unceasing evaporation of pestilential

effluvia. Forests would rise to cover the face of the earth; these forests would afford protection to beasts of prey; and men, before they could labour the ground, or find safe pasture for their cattle, must have disputed the possession of the soil with the savage tenants of the woods. Fifty years after the flood, the world must have been a mighty wilderness—the plains full of marshes, and the hills covered with forests. Noach may have cleared a few fields, where he planted his vines; his sons may have done the same; but the progress of cultivation must have been gradual; and, under such circumstances, the increase of population must have been slow. It is then rather difficult to believe, upon the authority of chronologers and commentators, for the Bible says no such thing, that about *one century after the flood*, the descendants of Noach not only built the cities of Erech, Accad, Calneh, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and the great city of Resen; but began to construct a tower of such vast dimensions, that they proposed it should reach to heaven. The sacred historian tells us, that the descendants of Noach

built all these cities, and that Babel was the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom; but he assigns no date to the foundation either of the kingdom, or of the cities.

## CHAPTER X.

### *Of Nimrod.*

AMONG the early descendants of Ham, Nimrod appears to have been one of the most distinguished for his genius, his valour, and his fortune, but the most dreaded for his cruelty, and the most hated for his crimes. Known by various titles and denominations to the ancient Orientalists, he was adored by the Chaldeans under the name of בל, *Bel*, *Dominus*, and as the image of the sun; and he was called ذوحتک *Zohak*, *the just Lord*, by his Persian flatterers, while his enemies, by a slight alteration of the sound, converted this laudatory title into a bitter reproach. The chiefs of Iran, whom fortune had made his slaves, denominated the conqueror, نامورد *Na-murd*, immortal; but the descendants

of Shem, in the line of Eber, appear to have altered this name in derision from *Namurd*, the immortal, to *Nimrod*, the rebel—(מרד prefixed by נ appellative). We shall find in another part of this work, that *Zohak*, or *Dohak*, was the name given by the Persians, not only to Nimrod, but to a long line of Assyrian kings, his successors.

This prince is mentioned in the book of Genesis, as "a mighty hunter before the Lord;" but surely the words *ghibbor tsaid*, would be better rendered "a mighty robber," or "a mighty spoliator." It is said that the beginning of his kingdom was Babel; and, according to Josephus, Nimrod was the great promoter of the building of the tower. But in stating the reasons, which the prince gave for commencing this undertaking, Josephus assigns to him motives, which are directly contrary to those, which the sacred historian had attributed to the builders of the tower. According to the author of the book of Genesis, the builders of the tower intended to raise it as a mark, or signal, of such immense height, that they should be able to see it wherever they went, and thus avoid the danger

of being dispersed, and of losing their way. The author of the Jewish Antiquities is not satisfied with this reason. He makes Nimrod assert that he would build a tower so high, that if God attempted to drown the world again, the waters should never be able to reach to the top of this tower.

Now if Nimrod began to build the tower, only one century after the deluge, the language, which Josephus attributes to him, is precisely what might have been expected from such a proud and daring infidel. Neither, as I have before observed, is it easy to conceive, how men, who proposed to build a tower of such vast dimensions, should not have thought of its saving them from the effects of a second deluge, when the principal persons present had been actual spectators of the effects of the first. If, however, upon a more attentive examination we find that Nimrod did not flourish, and that the tower of Babel, or Babylon, was not begun, until the time of Abraham, we shall probably admit, that the reason given in Genesis for the building of the tower was much more natural to the new

inhabitants of the plain of Shinar, than that imagined for them by Josephus. I, therefore, request the attention of the reader, while I offer to his consideration the remarks which follow.

1. The names of the Patriarchs were frequently applied to the nations which descended from them, and to the countries which they inhabited. Thus the names of Judah and Benjamin often denoted the tribes, of which these Patriarchs were the progenitors. Ethiopia and sometimes Arabia were indicated by the name of Cush—Metsraim became the appellation of Egypt, Phut of Libya, and Elam of Persia. When, therefore, we are told, that Cush was the son of Ham, (whose name was sometimes given to Egypt,) and that Ludim was the son of Metsraim, let us consider, whether the sacred historian might not have merely meant to say, that the Ethiopians and the Lydians were descended from the Egyptians.

2. In the phraseology of the Hebrews, the descendants of the Patriarchs were often denominated their sons, or children. Thus the Jews to this day call themselves *Beni Israel*, children

of Israel. On the other hand *ab*, a father, was often employed to signify a progenitor—" your father Abraham." In the same manner, when it is said that Cush begat Nimrod, it is not necessary to understand the expression literally. The Hebrew word ילד, *yalad*, signifies to generate; and Cush was probably the progenitor, and not the immediate father of Nimrod. In fact the word *yalad*, when used as a noun, signifies a progenitor; and there are examples, where by translating the verb too literally, the sense of the original seems to be marred. Thus when it is said in the English version, that Canaan *begat* the Jebusite, the Emorite, and the Girgasite, &c. we ought rather to understand, that he was their progenitor. It will be remembered that the sacred historian mentions the sons of Japhet, Ham, and Shem, " after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, and after their nations." This passage indicates pretty clearly, that he did not always speak of individuals in the tenth chapter of Genesis, but sometimes also " of the nations, which were divided in the earth after the flood."

3. I, therefore, do not understand from the words of the sacred historian, that Nimrod was literally the son, but only the descendant of Cush. Neither is this notion taken up lightly. Various circumstances, and the evidence of many writers, who have reported the traditions of ages, concur in proving Nimrod to have been the contemporary of Abraham. We have already remarked, that the sacred historian turns abruptly from the history of the building of the tower, to speak of the genealogy of the Patriarch. The ancestors of Abraham had been long settled in Ur of the Chaldees; and he himself was resident there, until his father conducted him to Haran, where he received his call. The Cushites, therefore, were never in possession of the land of Chaldea, or at least of the land of Ur, until after the period when Abraham quitted the country. According to Josephus the building of the tower of Babel was carried on under the direction of Nimrod. Now I shall have occasion to show in another chapter, that there is good reason to believe that the tower was situated not far from Ur, and at the distance of

near 60 leagues from the site of that other Babel, or Babylon, which was the capital of Chaldea. I thence infer, that the building of the tower was not commenced until shortly before the departure of Abraham from Ur; and that the Shemites in the line of Eber were masters of the country until the time of Nimrod.

4. That Abraham and Nimrod were contemporaries is not contradicted by the Scriptures, and is affirmed by various writers, whose authority is of weight in such a question. This fact then is asserted by the authors of the Gemara, or commentary on the Mishna; by the author of the Targum on the Pentateuch ascribed to Jonathan; and by several eminent Rabbin of later date. The Arabians had a similar tradition; and the historians, Achmed-ibn-Jusuf, Muhammed Mustapha, and Al-Giannabi, speak of the Patriarch as contemporary with the tyrant and robber. The commentators on the Koran have indeed abundantly embroidered this tradition; as have done also the authors of the Persian books called Malem and Sohfi Ibrahim. But while we reject their extravagant exagger-

ations, we may admit these authors to have been right in considering Abraham and Nimrod as contemporaries.

The Greek writers, who have mentioned this subject, have generally spoken of Ninus as being contemporary with Abraham. Thus Eusebius, Cedrenus, and Syncellus, have made this statement; as has also Samuel, the Armenian chronographer. All these writers, with many Greek historians, who have followed Ctesias, have named Ninus as the first in the list of the Assyrian monarchs; but I am inclined to think, that Ninus was the son and successor of Nimrod, or Belus, who appears to have been master, not only of Babylonia, but of Assyria. It is said in the book of Genesis, that Babel was the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, and this seems to imply, that his kingdom became more extensive in the sequel. Besides, the Prophet Micah (c. v. 6.) calls Assyria the land of Nimrod. In all events, it is clear from the book of Genesis, that Nimrod and Ninus were contemporaries; for Ninevah, which name signifies the habitation of Nin, or Ninus, was built in the time of Nimrod.

5. Upon the whole, therefore, the evidence which proves Nimrod, Ninus, and Abraham to have been contemporaries, appears to be too strong to be set aside. We have, however, yet to ascertain the æra of Nimrod by determining that of Abraham. According to the Vulgate only 427 years elapsed between the deluge and the call of Abram. The Samaritan text extends the interval to 1017 years;[1] and in the Septuagint this interval is further extended to 1207 years.[2] These variations from the Hebrew text as we have it now, and as Jerom must have read it in his time, have considerably perplexed chronographers; but there is a partial solution of the difficulty, recommended by the learned Jesuits Du Halde and Tournemine, which I do not scruple to adopt. It is stated at Gen. c. xi. v. 10., in the figurative phraseology of an Oriental style, that Shem was בן מאת שנה, *son of a hundred years*, when he begot Arphaxad. Now at verse 12, where it is said, Arphaxad lived five and thirty years, and begot Salah, the

[1] According to some 1078 years.

[2] Reckoned by some at 1257 years.

words, *son of a hundred years*, are to be understood after Arphaxad, and so of all the other descendants of Shem in the line of Eber down to Terah, who begot Abram about his 70th year. According to this reading, which I have not the least doubt is the accurate one, we must reckon the period, between the deluge and the call of Abraham, at 1067 years. It is clear, that Josephus thus read and understood the Hebrew text, for he has every where supplied the 100 years, as is proposed above from Shem to Terah. It is probable indeed that some copyist has corrupted the text of the author, and has made him say that Abram was born in the 292d year after the deluge, which is in direct contradiction with what he proceeds to state immediately afterwards; for the year was clearly the 992d after the deluge, according to the statement which he himself makes; and the year of the call should be stated for the year 1067. I admit that, apparently by some error, Josephus has made the whole period amount to 1068 instead of 1067 years from the deluge to the call; but this difference of one year between his state-

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ment, and that which I have shown to have been that intended in the Hebrew text, is scarcely worth notice.

It also appears, that the LXX, and the author of the Samaritan text found, or supplied, the words, which I have mentioned above, in every example (except in that of Nahor) from Shem to Terah. The LXX, indeed, have introduced the name of the second Cainaan, which has been erroneously omitted in the Hebrew and Samaritan texts, but which is received in the genealogy given by St. Luke.

6. The state of society in the time of Abraham argues its long previous existence. Powerful kingdoms were already established; great cities had been built; and regular armies were maintained. Mankind already witnessed the pomp of courts, and the luxury of individuals. Pharaoh appeared surrounded with his Princes; Abimelech came attended with the Captain of his hosts; and Abraham himself was rich in gold and silver, in tents, in flocks and in herds. Money, and even coined money, was in use; nor let it be forgotten, that slavery was already intro-

duced. These circumstances, with many others which might be enumerated, make it difficult to conceive, that only between four and five centuries before, the whole human race had been destroyed, with the exception of eight persons. I, therefore, propose to my readers to adopt, as they think fit, the calculation, as it results either from the Samaritan text, or from that of the Septuagint, or from the Hebrew text itself, as it evidently must have been read and understood by Josephus, who, next to Philo, was the most learned of the Jews, and who, in this instance at least, could have had no interest either in altering the sense, or in disguising the truth.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Of the identity of Nimrod with Belus and Zohak.*

THAT the Nimrod of Scripture was the same with the Bel, or Belus, of the Chaldeans, and with the Zohak of the Persians, may be inferred from the testimony of various writers. According to Diodorus Siculus, Belus was the son of Neptune and Libya, and conducted a colony from Egypt to Babylon, where he instituted an order of Priests called Chaldeans, who, like the Priests of Egypt, were exempt from all tribute and service, and who, like them, were employed in the study of physics and astronomy. (l. 1. 28.) Both Castor and Cephalion call Ninus the son of Belus. (Euseb. Chron. l. 1.) Servius (ap. Æn. l. 1.) distinctly names Belus as the first king of the Assyrians; and Jerom says

that Ninus set up the idol of Bel in honour of his father. (In Ezek. and Hos.) According to the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, "Cush, the Ethiopian, begot Nembrod the giant, (*τὸν Νεμβρωδ γίγαντα,*) the founder of Babylon, who, the Persians say, was deified, and whom, being placed among the constellations, they call Orion." Now the mind easily associates Nimrod, the mighty hunter, with the hunter Orion; but the common interpretation of the words *ghibbor tsaid,* which, it may be supposed, gave rise to the fame of Nimrod as a hunter, appears to have been overlooked by the Orientalists. Their attention seems to have been directed to Nimrod rather as a hero and a giant, for such they fancied him to be, than as a hunter. Even the LXX have rendered the words הוא החל להיות גבר בארץ, *the same began to be a mighty one upon the earth—οὗτος ἤρξατο εἶναι γίγας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν—the same began to be a giant upon the earth.* In the Arabic nomenclature of the constellations that, which the Greeks named Orion, is called جبار *Gibbar*, hero, or giant. This giant of the constellations can be

no other than Nimrod. Could the name of Orion, or Ourion, have come originally from אור, *Ur?* Was Nimrod an inhabitant at any time of the city of *Ur?* May it not be thought that the Orion of the Greeks, in spite of the absurd fables which they have told, was the Nimrod of the Orientalists? The Persians have several denominations for this constellation, of which, I believe, the most usual is بهادر *Bahadur, vir fortis vel potens*, and evidently translated from the Arabic *Gibbar*. But the deified Nimrod, in spite of his being called *Namurd, the immortal*, was compelled to submit to the common fate of all mankind; and Strabo, who has described the temple, has also mentioned the tomb of Belus.

Now little doubt can remain, that Nimrod and Belus were the same. Babel was the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom, and Josephus says, that this monarch was the founder of the tower and of the city of Babel. The Greeks tell us that Belus was the founder of Babel, or Babylon, as they have altered the name. Assur is said in the Bible to have

built Nineveh about the same period; but Nineveh (נינוה) signifies the habitation of Nin, or Ninus, and Assur was probably only another name adopted by Ninus. Nimrod, if not the first, was the most notorious apostate, of whom we hear during the early ages of the postdiluvian world. I have already stated the testimony of Josephus upon this point; and Philo Judæus will have it, that the name of Nebrod, as he calls him, signifies desertion, or apostacy—ἑρμενεύεται δὲ Νεβρωδ̀ αὐτομόλησις. We cannot wonder then, that the idolatrous posterity of this prince adored him as a god, under the general appellation of Bel, which is equivalent to Lord, and which, before his time, had been probably given to the sun by the worshippers of that luminary. That the builders of the tower of Babel were heliolators may be inferred from the very name, which they gave to their city.

According to the sacred historian, Babel was so called because Jehovah did there confound the language of the whole land. This passage requires explanation. The descendants of Abraham, in just and derisive reprehension of the

folly of the builders of the tower, and in memory of the punishment which followed their temerity, called the city בבל *Babel, quasi* בלבל *Balbel, confusion.* But it does not thence follow, that the name was so understood by the builders of the tower, or that the sacred historian meant to say, that this interpretation of the name was admitted except among the Hebrews. The Chaldeans always continued to call the vast capital of their kingdom Babel, which the Greeks have taught us to denominate Babylon. Now it can scarcely be supposed, that the Chaldeans understood this name to signify *confusion.* What people would have given such a name to their city, or have retained it, had it been given? The builders of the tower, and the Babylonians of later days, no doubt, assigned a very different meaning to the name, than that ascribed to it by the just indignation of the descendants of Abraham. The Babylonians probably interpreted *Babel* the *Gate of Bel.* We know, that *bab*, in Syro-Chaldaic and in Persian and Arabic, signifies a gate; and it may be fairly presumed, that the same word once existed in the pure Chaldaic.

*Bab-Bel*, the gate of Bel, was, therefore, probably the name, which the idolatrous Cushites gave to their city; and they bestowed upon their monarch the title, which they had previously reserved for their God.

The title of Bel, or Lord, as applied to the sun by the Tsabaists, seems to have had its origin among the descendants of Ham; and we accordingly find this name given to their principal deity by the idolators of almost every region of the globe, where heliolatry prevailed. We have seen, that Diodorus traces Belus to Egypt. The Philistines, as appears from Scripture, adored the sun under the name of Baal (בעל) *Dominus;* and this harsher pronunciation of the name, which it is not easy to express by Roman letters, was generally adopted by the Syrians and the Hebrews. It is unnecessary to enumerate the various *Baalim*, that were worshipped by idolators in Judea; but we may take a cursory view of the wide range of the religion of Baal, or Bel, in regions both near and remote from those, where this superstition may be supposed to have had its source. The Phœnici-

ans adored the sun under the name of *Beel-Samen*, Lord of heaven. The ancient Arabians were apparently worshippers of Baal; at least we know that they adored a goddess whose name was *Balthi*, as did also the Syrians, and other worshippers of the *Baalim*. The sixth day of the week was called after this goddess. In Sanscrit *Bali* signifies, the strong, or mighty one; but the bearer of such a name must have been fully entitled to be called lord and master. Neither have I any hesitation in translating the ancient Indian names, *Maha-Beli*, and *Bala-Deva*, the great lord, and the divine lord. The name of *Bala-Rama* signifies, if I mistake not, the black lord in Sanscrit; but may not this *Bala-Rama* have derived his name from *Ramah*, רעמה, the Cushite, who founded a city on the coast of the Persian Gulph, and whose descendants might have easily passed over to India? In this case the name would signify the lord of thunder, בעל־רעמה. The ancient Persians, according to the author of the Dabistan, named one of their monarchs *Mah-bul*, which is clearly a corruption of the Indian *Maha-Bala*,

the great lord, or great king. We learn from the scholiast of Æschylus and from Hesychius, cited by Vossius, *(de origine et progressu idololatriæ,)* that in Persian and Phrygian *Ballen* signified a king. The same signification of the word is given by Sextus Empiricus (l. i. c. 13.). Vossius thinks that *Ballen,* (or *Balen,* as Æschylus writes it more correctly,) is derived from Baal; but he seems unable to account for the termination; or rather he attempts it, and fails. With respect to the signification of king attached to the word Baal, there is no difficulty, since the distinction between king and lord, where there is no doubt that there is a master, is of little consequence. But the termination of the word *Balen* seems to present a more important obstacle to the etymology. It appears to me, however, that this obstacle may be easily removed. The Orientalists frequently put the plural for the singular, when they mention an illustrious title. Thus the Hebrews, in speaking of the only God, employ the plural form—*Elohim.* Thus too in India, it is common to say *Nuwab,* in the plural, for *Nayib,* a Nabob. If the Per-

sians and Phrygians added the Chaldean plural termination to *Bal*, they would pronounce *Balim*; and if they added their own, they would pronounce *Balan*. In neither case would the Greeks have greatly deviated from the original, in pronouncing Βαλὴν, *Balen;* for it is to be observed that the last vowel is long in the Chaldean and Persian, as well as in the Greek.

But to proceed. The worship of Baal, or Bel, as they called the sun, was spread to the north and the west by the merchants and mariners of Tsidon, Tyre, and Carthage. Vossius has traced the worship of *Belenus*, or *Belen*, evidently the same as *Balen*, to Aquileia, on the Adriatic, to Noricum a southern province of Germany, and to Armorica in Gaul. The name of *Beli*, or *Bali*, seems to have been equally known to the Goths and Celts. If the Goths, according to the Edda, do not give a distinguished place to *Beli* in their mythology, it is easy to discover in the name of *Balder*, the Hyperborean Apollo, the elementary words which compose it, and which are clearly *Baal-Ader*, the brilliant lord, or the lord of fire. (See

אדד, H. אזר, P. &c.) The name of *Beli* was familiar to the ancient Britons, (see Davies's Mythology of the Druids;) and the descendants of the Celts of Scotland often speak of *Bel*, without suspecting its Chaldean origin; and perhaps some of my countrymen will not believe me, when I tell them, what is nevertheless perfectly true, that their *Beltain* is nothing else than the ancient God of the Chaldeans. *Beltain* is a manifest corruption for בל־איתן, *Bel-itan; Bel fortis*—the name, which, according to Ctesias, the Babylonians gave to Bel, and which he writes *Βελιτάνης*. For the remains of the worship of Bel in Ireland, I refer my readers to Colonel Vallancey.

Before I quit this subject, I think it necessary to remark, that the name of *Baal*, or *Bel*, was so variously pronounced that it is not always easy to discover it in the proud titles assumed by the kings of Babylon. These monarchs, who considered themselves as representatives of the deity, and who were flattered by being called the images of the sun, generally gave to themselves various denominations, composed of the

names of the gods in several different languages. Thus the name of *Nabopolasar* is composed of נבס, *Nabo*, the Syrian name for Mercury—of *Pol*, which is a corruption for *Baal*, pronounced *Bol* by the Syrians—and of اذر, *Atsar*, or اذر, *Azar*, which may either signify the Persian deity that presided over the planet Mars, or the element of fire. Consequently the name of *Nabo-Pol-Asar* is equivalent to Mercury, Jupiter, Mars. But the *Nabo* of the Syrians, like the *Wodan* of the Goths, was in fact a very different deity from the Mercury of the Latins; and the name in question may be also understood as a solar title, signifying *Nabo*, lord of fire; or *Nabo*, the glorious lord. In like manner בלשאצר, *Belshatser*, is a name composed of *Bel* and *Atser*—בל־ש־אצר, *Bel qui et Atser*, which we may paraphrase—the Chaldean Bel, or Jupiter, who is also the Persian Atser, اذر, or Mars. Again בלאדן, *Baladan*, as we read it according to the vicious punctuation of the Masorites, may be either *Bela-dan*, (the emphatic aleph being post-fixed to *Bel*); *Bela-din*, the lord of justice; or *Bel-Adon*, forming two solar

titles, which can require no explanation. The name of *Sardanapalus*, or *Sardanapal*, was probably written in Chaldaic שר־דנא־פל, *i. e. Sardana-Pal.* Here *Pal*, or *Pel*, is corrupted from Bel, and the name signifies *Bel, prince of justice.*

Whether the name of Bel were assumed by Nimrod during his life, or whether it were given to him after his death, the memory of the monarch seems to have been nearly lost in the celebrity of the god. Diodorus Siculus, who mentions Belus in his first book, takes no notice of him in his second; and according to this historian, Ninus was not only the first king of Assyria, but the conqueror of all the extensive regions between the Tanais and the Nile, and from the shores of the Hellespont to the banks of the Oxus. If, however, we can believe the Orientalists, Nimrod ought at least to partake with his successor the glory, or the shame, of disturbing the peace of nations, of dethroning lawful sovereigns, and of establishing his empire by the sword.

According to the *Tarikh Montekheb*, Nimrod

was the same with Zohak; but the Persians are not agreed about either the name or the origin of this prince. They write his name variously *Dahak*, *Dsohak*, and *Zohak;* while it is equally disputed whether he were a Syrian or an Arabian by birth. All unite, however, in representing him as a stranger who conquered Iran, and as a tyrant who spread ruin and desolation around him. Many fables have been related of this monarch by Phardusi and others; but it may be historically true, as some of these writers assert, that Zohak was the same with Nimrod, that he was contemporary with Abraham, and that he founded the city of Babel.

Mirkhond says, that Nimrod was the same with Kai-Kous, the second king of the Kaianian dynasty. This is a gross anachronism; but as the Persian historian mentions, that Kai-Kous attempted to scale the heavens, we may infer from it, that the Orientalists, with few exceptions, considered Nimrod as the principal promoter of the building of the tower of Babel.

According to the Persians Zohak reigned

over their country during 1000 years. It is probable, therefore, that by Zohak they understood the whole Assyrian dynasty, from Belus to Sardanapalus inclusive. But it may be thought, that by the Zohak, who wrested the sceptre of Iran from Gem-Shid, they particularly alluded to Nimrod and Ninus. Nothing, perhaps, shows more distinctly the reluctance of the Persians to acknowledge the sway of a stranger, than their silence with regard to the long rule of their Assyrian masters. They admit, indeed, that Zohak was a stranger by birth; but they labour to prove his descent from Kaio-marth, their first monarch, and they extend his reign to 1000 years, to conceal under an apparent fable the real history of their long subordination to a foreign yoke.

The anachronism, of which I have remarked that Mirkhond is guilty, in calling Kai-Kous the same as Nimrod, helps, nevertheless, to prove that tradition recognised Nimrod as the sovereign of Iran. Mirkhond may have found that Nimrod, *Ko-Kous*, was named by tradition as an ancient monarch of Persia, and he may

have mistaken *Ko-Kous*,[1] *son of Kous*, for *Kai-Kous, King Kous.*

Upon the whole, therefore, I am inclined to admit the identity of Nimrod with Belus, and to consider the history of the subjugation of Iran by Zohak, as that of the conquest of the same country by Belus and Ninus.

P. S. I ought to have observed, that the first king of the Chaldeans, after the deluge, is named *Euechios* by Alexander Polyhistor; and that Nimrod, or Nebrod as he writes the name, is said by Cedrenus to have been called *Euechios* —ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ Νεβρωὸδ καὶ Εὐήχιος. The name of *Euechios* is easily to be traced to its source in Chaldaic, and can be nothing else than הוא כוש *hua Cush*, or הוא כושי, *hua Cushi*. In the same manner the Greeks changed the name of the

[1] *Ko* is still used among the Tartar tribes in the sense which I have given it.

river *Phrat*, into *Euphrates*; no doubt because when the Chaldeans pointed out to them the river; they said הוא פרת *hua Phrat, this (is the) Phrat.* In the same manner; when they spoke of their first king, they said, *hua Cushi, this (is the) Cushite;* and the Greeks, with their usual dexterity in corrupting foreign names, changed *hua Cushi* into *Euechios*, or, as some have written it, *Euechoos.*

## CHAPTER XII.

*Of the land of Shinar, and of the position of the city and tower of Babel, or Babylon.*

THERE can be no question that the city and tower of Babel were founded in a plain of the land of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2.); nor can it be doubted, that the great capital of Chaldea was built in the same land (Dan. i. 1 & 2.). But when it is stated, as it generally is, that by this land is to be understood the small region which is denominated Babylonia, the accuracy of the assertion may admit of discussion. Neither does it appear to be so certain as some have supposed, that the capital of Chaldea was built on the same site, where the tower was founded, or in other words, that it was the same city, where the confusion of languages had taken place.

The learned Bochart refers to the authority of Abydenus and of the Sibyl in favour of the common hypothesis. The disciple of Aristotle states, that the first men, daring to contemn the gods, built a high tower which had almost reached to heaven, when by the aid of the winds it was thrown down by the gods; and he further affirms that this edifice stood *where Babylon now is*—*ἵνα νῦν Βαβυλών ἐστι.* He also mentions the confusion of languages, which happened immediately afterwards; and refers these events to the period, when Saturn made war against the Titans. But this testimony proves nothing more, than that Abydenus had heard of the building of the tower of Babel, and that he naturally supposed, as probably did the Chaldeans themselves, that the tower of Babel, or of Babylon, was built on the same spot, where the great capital of Chaldea stood. The tradition concerning the tower was probably obtained by the Babylonians from the Jews; and might easily have been preserved down to the time of Abydenus, who flourished only about two centuries after the captivity. But the authority of this writer, who mixes the

facts recorded in the book of Genesis with the fables of Paganism, can be of little weight in determining the present question. It might be admitted, that the Chaldeans, and even many of the Jews, in the time of Alexander, believed that the tower was built, where the city of Babel, or Babylon, stood, without the proof of the fact being therefore better established than before. The name of the ancient tower and of the modern city being the same, the contemporaries of Alexander might easily believe, that both had been founded on the same spot.

Bochart also cites the testimony of the Sibyl, but this, if it be worth notice at all, goes against him. The learned writer, who has not quoted the whole passage, seems not to have observed, that, according to the Sibyl, the tower was built *in the Assyrian territory* (χώρη ἐν' Ασσυριή.)

After examining this question, which is merely a geographical question, I am disposed to think that the tower and city of Babel, mentioned in the 11th chapter of Genesis, were founded at a very considerable distance from the spot, where the capital of Chaldea afterwards stood.

It is clearly stated in the book of Genesis, that the builders of Babel "left off to build the city," and that God "scattered them abroad over the whole land." How then are we to reconcile this account with the supposition, that this Babel is the same Babel, which afterwards became one of the greatest cities of the world? Nor is this all. The tower of the capital of Chaldea was begun and completed. Its plan was regular, and that plan was executed; nor is it possible to doubt this, if we examine the description of it as given by Herodotus. Are we then to suppose, that after God had confounded the language of the builders—had compelled them to abandon their undertaking, and had dispersed them over the whole land, they returned to the same spot, and, in spite of heaven, recommenced and terminated their labours? It seems to me more natural to believe, that Nimrod assembled his subjects in another place —founded a new city to which he still gave the name of *Bab-Bel*—but satisfied himself with building a tower of moderate height, by which his deluded followers could no longer fancy that

they might mount to heaven. Strabo, I believe, is the only author who mentions the height of the tower of Belus, which he fixes at one *stadium;* and as this *stadium* was probably not the Olympic *stadium,* but a Babylonian measure, equal to the 34th part of a parasanga, we may estimate the height of the tower at 435 English feet.

The opinion, which I have just stated concerning the position of the ancient tower of Babel, is supported by the authority of a passage in the Septuagint. At Isaiah x. 9. we find the following words—οὐκ ἔλαβον τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπάνω Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Χαλάνης ου ὁ πύργος ὠκοδομήθη; *Have I not taken the country above Babylon and Chalane where the tower was built?* Now although this passage exist neither in the Hebrew text as we have it, nor in that known to Jerom, yet the LXX probably found it in the Hebrew copy from which they made their translation, as we can hardly imagine that they would have inserted it into their version, without any authority, as Jerom insinuates. Basil and Gregory Naziazenus make no objection to the accu-

racy of the statement; and Cyrill observes, that *Chalane, where the tower was built by the first men, is situated in the remotest parts, as it were, of the East, beyond the country and territory of the Babylonians.* Cyrill seems, it is true, to have had no very distinct idea where Chalane was, but he is decided in placing it out of Babylonia. Eustathius likewise (*ad Il.* 1.) calls the tower of Babel the tower of Chalane.

Bochart, who has cited all these authorities, supposes Chalne, or Chalane, to have been situated where Ctesiphon was afterwards built. Pliny says (L. 6.26.), that the Parthians founded Ctesiphon in Chalonitis; and Bochart indicates, that, according to Strabo (L. 16.), a part of Babylonia extended to Zagros, a mountain of Chalonitis. Strabo likewise states (L. 11.), that the Tigris, after flowing for a long space under ground, rises again at Chalonitis. Finally it appears from a reference to Polybius (L. 5.), that the country at the foot of Mount Zagros was named Chalonitis. Now admitting to Bochart, that the name of Chalne, or Chalane, was derived from Chalonitis, how is it to be proved from the

evidence which he adduces, that Chalne was situated on the spot, where Ctesiphon was afterwards built by the Parthians? Besides, the testimony of Strabo is not accurately stated. That author does not say, that any part of Babylonia extended to Mount Zagros; but that two provinces, which he includes in Assyria, namely Babylonia, and 'Aturia, of which the region round Zagros, a mountain of Chalonitis, formed a part, were contiguous to Persia and Susiana. It is not very accurate to speak of Zagros as of a single mountain, since this name was given to an immense chain of mountains, which, according to Polybius, separated the kingdom of the Medes from that of the Parthians (L. 5. 54.). Strabo himself speaks of this chain as adjoining to Media and Elymatis; and the part of it nearest to Ctesiphon, if I can judge from Rennell's map, must have been 90 miles distant from that city.

In turning to the 11th book of Strabo, we find that the Tigris rose from its subterranean channel at Chalonitis, above Opis; but Opis was situated at least 50 miles above Ctesiphon.

Thus it appears that Chalonitis was the name of a very extensive region; and there is not the slightest evidence to prove, that because Ctesiphon was situated in that country, therefore Chalne stood on the same spot.

It is agreed on all sides, that the ancient tower of Babel and the capital of Chaldea were both built in the land of Shinar; but the situation and extent of this land cannot be so easily determined. In this land, it is certain, Nimrod founded the cities of Babel, Chalne, Erek, and Achad. I have already stated my reasons for thinking, that the tower and city of Babel, where the confusion of languages took place, were not built where the capital of Chaldea afterwards stood; but in order to show, that the position of the tower was far removed from the Euphrates, it will be necessary to enquire what might be the extent of the land of Shinar.

The voice of tradition reports, that Edessa was built on the site of Erek, and that the name of the ancient Achad was exchanged for that of Nisibis. It would require too much time to examine the arguments, by which this opinion

has been attacked and defended. I shall therefore only observe, that Bochart would have Erek and Achad to have been the cities since named *Arecca* and *Sitace;* but I prefer to Bochart's the authority and opinion of Jerom, who says that Nimrod reigned *et in Arach, hoc est in Edessa, et in Achad, quæ nunc dicitur Nisibin.*

In this case then it is evident, that the whole of Mesopotamia, including Babylonia, was comprehended in the land of Shinar; nor can we fail to recognise a corruption of the original name in the Arabic سنجر *Sinjar.* We find a city so called, which lies about 50 geographical miles, according to Rennell's map, W.S.W. from Nineveh—about 240 N.W. from Babylon —and about 160 S.E. from Edessa. This city is of great antiquity, and is mentioned under the name of *Singara* by Ptolemy and Pliny. The river which flows by its walls, and which the Greeks called the Mygdonius, is only known to the natives by the name of the river of *Sinjar,* though it takes its source from the neighbourhood of Nisibis, and its whole course cannot be less than 150 miles, before it joins the Chaboras. The

mountains which extend nearly from Mount Masius to the confluence of these two rivers, are likewise denominated from the same city; and the uncultivated country, which lies between this city and Tekrit, is also called the desert of *Sinjar*. Thus we find that this name is yet widely spread in Mesopotamia; and it seems to me evident that it can be nothing else than a corruption of *Shinar*.

It now only remains for us to discover the site of Chalne, or Chalane, where, according to the LXX, the tower was built.

In the plain of *Sinjar*, about 70 geographical miles below Mosul, and about 160 geographical miles to the north of Babylon, lies a city which is thus described by D'Anville—"Vis-à-vis de l'entrée du petit *Zab* (dans le Tigre) est une ville, dont le nom de *Senn*, comme il se lit dans *l'Edrisi*, ne diffère que par la lettre initiale de celui de *Cæne* dans la retraite des Dix-milles." Major Rennell likewise says—"*Cæne*, at the Tigris, taken for the Senn of the Arabian and Persian geographers."

Now I consider this city, called *Cænæ* (*Καιναὶ*)

by Xenophon, and *Senn* by the modern Arabians and Persians, to be the same with the city named *Caneh* by Ezekiel (xxvii. 23.). But it is agreed, I believe, among Hebrew critics, that *Canné*, or *Caneh* (כנה) is the same with כלנה *Chalné*, or *Calne*. If therefore the LXX be right, in naming Chalne, or Chalane, as the place where the ancient tower of Babel was built, I think, we can now be hardly mistaken about its position. It will be observed, that *Καιναὶ*, *Cænæ*, could not be very remote from the spot, where, according to Strabo, the Tigris rose from its subterranean channel at Chalonitis, which, as it appears from the same writer, was above Opis. Hence, if the name of *Chalne* is to be traced to *Chalonitis*, or *vice versa*, *Chalonitis* to *Chalne*, the position of *Cænæ* will answer the purpose better than the site mentioned by Bochart. It remains, however, for the reader to judge, whether, or not, the city of *Caneh*, or *Cané*, mentioned by Ezekiel, and generally thought to be the same with *Chalné*, or *Calné*, be the same with the city of *Καιναὶ*, *Cænæ*, noticed in the Anabasis. He will likewise decide upon

the questions relative to the extent of the land of Shinar, and to the situation of the tower and city where the confusion of languages took place. If he think, that after the interference of Providence, and after the dispersion of the builders, these same builders returned to the same spot, whence Almighty power had driven them, and terminated there the labours which they had begun; he will consider the tower of Belus, and the great capital of Chaldea, as the tower and city of Babel, of which mention is made in the 11th chapter of Genesis. If on the contrary he think it improbable that all this could have happened, he will easily admit, that a new city, still indeed denominated *Bab-Bel*, *Porta Beli*, may have been built by Nimrod and his idolatrous followers, at the distance of near 60 leagues from the city, whence they had been expelled by the justice of heaven. The former opinion is certainly not confirmed by the authority of Scripture; and it is little to the purpose to cite that of Josephus and of Abydenus in its favour, since these writers might have been, and probably were, deceived by the name,

which was given alike to the old city and to the new. The testimony of the LXX likewise appears to me to be of great importance in the consideration of this question; and upon the whole I am inclined to believe, that, if any remnants of the tower of Babel exist, they are to be sought for and may be found at Senn, as the Arabians now denominate the city called Καιναὶ, *Cænæ*, by Xenophon.

# CHAPTER XIII.

*Of some institutions which may be traced to the reign of Belus.*

THE first form of government after the deluge was the patriarchal. While a few families only existed in the world, the father of each was its monarch and its legislator. As disputes, however, soon take place among different families, the weaker parties naturally sought to form alliances, which might enable them to resist the aggressions of more powerful neighbours. These associations necessarily led to the establishment of monarchies.—The head of the most powerful family became the chief of a tribe; and coalescing tribes were formed into kingdoms, of which the leaders of the strongest and most warlike tribes became the sovereigns.

The power of the first Kings was, however, extremely limited; and the head of each tribe retained his authority in all cases, where the general interests of all the tribes were not immediately concerned. In the same manner the father of each family exercised the functions of supreme ruler within its precincts, unless it were in cases of importance to the whole community.

But these primary kingdoms were of small extent; and as the fathers of families had been compelled to exchange independence for safety, and to consent to a partial submission to the chiefs of tribes, so the weaker Kings became the allies, and at length the vassals of monarchs more powerful than themselves. Thus the first great monarchies were composed of many small ones; but the supreme Prince, or chief of the confederation, while like Agamemnon he was styled the King of Kings, possessed like him only a limited and precarious authority over turbulent rivals unawed by his dignity, and jealous of his power.

Such appears to have been the political state

of society during the first ages after the deluge. Neither perhaps was its situation greatly changed, until men were assembled together in pópulous cities, and agriculture and commerce, those pillars of national strength, had become firmly established.

It appears from the account given by the sacred historian, that many cities were built in the time of Nimrod, and that several of these cities, among which was Babylon, were founded by that Prince himself. The Greeks and Romans knew Nimrod by the name of Belus, since they have attributed, in various examples, the building of Babylon to this monarch (*Etymolog. in voce Βαβυλὼν—Joseph. Ant. L.* 1.—*Beros. apud Joseph. contr. Ap. L.* 1. 20.—*Abyden. apud Euseb.—Q. Curtius L.* 5. 1.—*Amm. Marcellin. L.* 23. &c.). A yet greater number of instances, however, may be found, in which they have attributed the building of Babylon to Ninus, or rather to his wife Semiramis. The author of the Alexandrian Chronicle even pretends, that the Assyrians gave to Nimrod the surname of Ninus—*αὐτὸν Νίνον τὸν Νεμβρωὸδ οἱ*

*Ἀσσύριοι προσηγόρευσαν.* If the Assyrians began by committing this mistake, it is an excuse for the Greek authors, who confounded Ninus with Belus. But the latter was the father of the former. (*Vide Hieronym. in Ezech.* 23. *in Os.* 2. *Tertull. de pallio—Euseb. Chron.—Augustin. de Civ. Dei.* &c.). We learn from Scripture, that Ashur went out of the part of the country where Nimrod had founded Babylon, and built Nineveh. But the word Nineveh signifies the habitation of Nin, or Ninus; and therefore it would appear, that Ninus in taking possession of the land, which had been named from the son of Shem, took also the appellation of Ashur, which is equivalent to *Felix.* After the death of his father, Ninus may have enlarged Babylon, and have continued the building of that city. The remark of Orosius therefore deserves attention—*Babyloniam a Nimrod gigante fundatam, a Nino vel Semiramide reparatam (amplificatam) multi prodiderunt.*

Belus, or Nimrod, though possessing the title of King, appears to have exercised only a limited authority. Accordingly we find from

Josephus, that he was obliged to employ persuasion, in order to engage the people to commence the building of the tower of Babel. Despotism has never been an attribute of monarchy among nations not yet civilized.

Several of the institutions of the Babylonians may be traced to their first monarch. The author of the Alexandrian Chronicle says, that Nimrod taught the Assyrians to worship fire (οὗτος [Νεμβρὼδ] διδάσκει Ἀσσυρίους σέβειν τὸ πῦρ.). It would have been more accurate to state, that he taught the Assyrians to venerate fire as the symbol of the Deity, or rather as the symbol of the sun, which the Tsabeans considered as the visible emblem of the invisible God.

Belus instituted the order of Priests called Chasidin. These were the instructors of the people, and formed a class by themselves. Established on the same footing as the Priests of Egypt, they were exempt from the payment of all public taxes, and from every species of service. As the priesthood could not go out of their families, fathers were the teachers of sons,

and education commenced from infancy (*Diod. Sic. L.* 2.). Man, who is the creature of habit, becomes what education makes him; always indeed in proportion to the capacity and vigour of his mind; but without education he remains a savage, be the strength of his intellect what it may. The first impressions are the strongest; and men in general carry to the tomb the notions which were instilled into them on quitting their cradles. He, who has many teachers, will sometimes be puzzled to reconcile discordant sentiments. Among the Babylonians, learning was confined to one class of men; and among these a son had no other preceptor than his father, except perhaps some of those who were associated with the latter, by having common interests, and by holding common opinions. Thus the principles imbibed in youth were retained in age. The Chaldeans appear to have made great advances in the study of natural philosophy, of mathematics, and of astronomy. Separated from the rest of society, over which they had obtained that influence, which superior knowledge always gives to its possessors, they

lived *by* themselves, and *for* themselves—Religion was their profession, science their amusement, and government their occupation.

Although it be probable that after the conquest of their country by the Persians, the Chaldeans were compelled to abandon their scientific pursuits; yet, while they gradually lost sight of the mathematical and astronomical knowledge of their ancestors, they seem to have retained their religious doctrines, which might have continued to be still transmitted from one generation to another. It appears, indeed, that down to the time of their final destruction they held and taught the principles of Tsabaism. They thought the nature of the world to be eternal; but they attributed its order and beauty to the Divine Providence; and they believed the motions of the celestial bodies to be produced neither by chance, nor spontaneously, but to result from the fixed decision and from the deliberate judgment of the Deity. (Euseb. Præp. Ev. L. 4. Diodor. Sicul. L. 2.) With the first part of this doctrine sound theology will not be satisfied. Philo Judæus, however,

is not authorised in stating that the Chaldeans attributed all things to the motions of the stars; that they believed that these motions dispensed the mundane powers, which result from their numbers and harmonies; that they worshipped only visible objects, examining solely the order of these, and not comprehending objects invisible and intellectual; or finally that from the revolutions of the celestial bodies, the four seasons of the year, and the sympathy of things celestial with things terrestrial, they considered the world itself to be God—*τὸν κόσμον αὐτὸν ὑπέλαβον εἶναι Θεόν.* The whole of this accusation is distinctly contradicted by Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, that the order and beauty of the universe, according to the Chaldeans, originate with Divine Providence; and, in more direct opposition to the assertions of Philo, he adds, *καὶ νῦν ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ γινομένων, οὐκ ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλ' ὡρισμένῃ τινὶ καὶ βεβαίως κεκυρωμένῃ θεῶν κρίσει συντελεῖσθαι*—*and now every thing that happens in the heavens is accomplished, neither by chance, nor spontaneously, but by a certain determined and firmly decided*

*judgment of the Gods.* This is given by the author as the doctrine of the Chaldeans; and it plainly recognises the existence of final causes, together with that of a superintending Providence. The Chaldeans may not have expressed themselves concerning the Divine Being, and concerning the great truths of Natural Religion, with the sublimity of Plato, or with the eloquence of Cicero; but if the statement of Diodorus be correct, and I see no reason to suspect its accuracy, they cannot be classed with the hyloistical atheists, who considered mind as a modification of matter, and who mistook the external universe for the infinite intellect, which gives it order, proportion, and beauty.

The Tsabeans considered the Sun as the visible symbol of the Deity—the Sun and Moon as the types of the active and passive principles in nature—and the Stars as the emblems of those divine emanations, that people in countless multitudes the intellectual universe. If reason can tolerate this fanciful theory, philosophy must not the less disclaim the visionary speculations of those Chaldean astrologers, who pretended to

read the fortunes of men in the positions of the stars, and in the aspects of the planets.

Belus is said to have introduced the study of astronomy into Chaldea. (Plin. L. 6.) The tower, or temple, which was named after him, seems to have served the purposes of an observatory, not less than of a place of worship; and the Chaldeans, according to Diodorus Siculus, attentively observed from its summit the rising and the setting of the stars. (L. 2. 9.)

Among the institutions of the Babylonians there are some, of which I should be inclined to refer the establishment to the age of Belus, because the call for their existence seems only compatible with the infancy of society. The Babylonians were divided into different classes, or casts; and sons were compelled to follow the trade or professions of their fathers. Such a regulation as this could only be made, when men first assembled in cities; and could only be really required, when it was indispensably necessary for the legislator to set limits to the numbers of those, who could be spared from the occupations of the mechanic and the husband-

man. (Herodot. L. 1. Strabo L. 16. Diodor. L. 2.)

Before the time of Nimrod, or Belus, the inhabitants of Assyria appear to have been chiefly composed of wandering hordes, that lived by the produce of the chace, or by the surer means of nourishment obtained from their flocks and herds, and from the spots of ground that were casually cultivated as occasion required. This great Prince united his subjects in cities; and consequently changed entirely their political existence.

The institution of marriage seems to have been one of the first, which in all countries attracted the attention of legislators. This institution probably existed among the Assyrians before the time of Belus; but there was a custom among the Babylonians, relative to marriages, which must, I think, have dated its existence from the very origin of their city. Every year all the young women of an age fit to be married were assembled together. The public herald put the handsomest among them up to sale, and sold each to the highest bidder, who was compelled by law to marry the young woman whom he had

bought. When the herald had sold all those, whose beauty had ensured them purchasers, he distributed the money thus acquired among those less favoured by nature; and he next obtained a wife, who was contented to take her with the smallest fortune. Thus the largest portion was always left at last for him who married the most ill-favoured of all these females. Herodotus considered this law as the wisest, which existed at Babylon. Undoubtedly it might have been dictated by sound policy, when the city was first inhabited, because it promoted marriages, and ensured the encrease of population. It likewise tended to disseminate wealth among different ranks; and provided for the families of the lower orders of citizens. But a custom such as this could never have been compatible with the feelings, or indeed with the interests and happiness, of mankind in a refined state of society. Without speaking of the sentiments of the women, who were thus forced into marriages with men whom they might dislike, what misery must have resulted to the men, who formed a union for life, without the slightest previous

knowledge of their brides! It may be said, that in the east the husband, down to the present day, is never permitted to see his bride until the marriage has taken place; but it seldom happens, even among Mussulmans, that a man proposes marriage, without being well informed of the character, as well as of the personal appearance, of her, whom he destines to be his wife. Herodotus admits, that the Babylonian custom of which he speaks had ceased to exist in his own time. It had probably ceased to exist, except among the lowest orders, from the time that wealth and luxury began to be introduced into the vast capital of Chaldea.

Herodotus speaks of another law, which he justly calls a shameful one. He says, that every woman in Babylon was obliged once in her life to prostitute herself, in the temple of Mylitta, to the first comer. Strabo repeats the same story, which he appears to have copied from Herodotus. This prostitution, however, according to Herodotus himself, must have taken place after the woman was married, because he tells us, that all girls, fit for marriage, found husbands

in the manner which has been stated above. Now how is it possible to conceive, that all husbands would consent to obey a law, which compelled them to permit their wives to prostitute themselves publicly to the first comer? How can it be imagined that such a practice could exist in one of the greatest cities of the world? We may easily believe, that certain women, under pretext of devoting themselves to Mylitta, the Venus of the Babylonians, thus gratified their desires under the sanction of superstition. We may also believe, that in the first stages of society such a practice might be enjoined to the priestesses of Mylitta by the legislator, who had always the advantages resulting from a numerous population in view. In a crowded capital like Babylon, it may be supposed that numbers were never wanting to perform this ceremony in honour of the Goddess; and it appears from a passage in the book ascribed to Baruch, that women did actually prostitute themselves in the manner described by Herodotus and Strabo. But it surely does not thence follow, that a law was enacted for

the purpose of compelling *all* women to submit to this disgrace. The practice may have existed to a certain extent; but no custom has ever universally prevailed, which is opposed alike to the best and to the worst feelings of our nature. If husbands had not virtue enough to prevent their wives from sacrificing their honour to the meanest strangers, the pride and the jealousy, which characterise the Orientalists, would have made it impossible to introduce such a custom generally among them. Herodotus himself calls the law a shameful one; and he ought to have known, that a shameful law, supposing that it really existed, could never have been generally, much less universally obeyed in a great and populous city like Babylon. Fortunately it is not in the nature of man to adopt generally any shameful practice.

Herodotus speaks of another custom among the Babylonians; and he talks of it as a wise one. He says, that there were no physicians at Babylon, and that the sick were carried into the streets, where they received advice from such of the passengers, as might themselves have suffered

from the same malady. But can it be really imagined, that there were no physicians in a city which was more populous than London? We know from Homer, that the medical art was generally practised in Egypt in his age; and shall we believe, that four hundred years afterwards it was totally unknown at Babylon? The custom, of which Herodotus speaks, may have existed in the earliest times, and have even been practised by the poor, who could not afford to have medical advice, at the time when he wrote. Strabo repeats the same account, which he had probably borrowed from the father of history. (Herodot. L. 1. 197. Strabo L. 16. 746.)

Such were apparently some of the primary institutions of that great Babylon, of which we now trace with difficulty the site and the ruins. "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Hilel, son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the earth, thou that didst weaken the nations!"

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

# ORIGINES.

## BOOK II.

### ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

### CHAPTER I.

*Of the geographical situation of Assyria.*

If we believe Josephus, Assyria was so named from Ashur the son of Shem, who, according to the same writer, also built the city of Nineveh (Antiq. Jud. L. 1.). It is probable, that the first part of this account is true. Assyria and Mesopotamia appear to have been peopled after the flood by the descendants of Shem; but we have already seen sufficient reason, in the preceding book, for believing that they were expelled from those regions by Nimrod and Ninus, of whom

the latter assumed the name of Ashur, while he perpetuated that of Ninus, by giving it to the city, which he built, and which became his habitation.

Herodotus (L. 7.) tells us, that the Assyrians were called Syrians by the Greeks, and Assyrians by the Barbarians. Thus the Greeks not only gave the appellation of Syria to the whole country which extends from Phœnice to Babylon, as Hesychius remarks, but comprehended under this denomination a considerable territory which lies beyond the Tigris. Now it is not a little extraordinary, that the name of Syria was totally unknown to the Asiatics; and the nations that dwelt between the Orontes and the Tigris, as well as the inhabitants of the country beyond this latter stream, must have been astonished to hear themselves denominated Syrians by strangers, who probably knew little either of their history, or of their language. It was apparently from their ignorance of both, that the Greeks at first gave the name of Syria alike to Aram and to Ashur; and that they afterwards made no distinction between Syrians and Assyrians. Thus

Strabo, by profession a geographer, includes Babylonia and Mesopotamia within the limits of Assyria; denominates the Assyrians Syrians; classes among these the inhabitants of Babylon; nor hesitates to call Nineveh the capital of Syria. (L.L. 2. 11. 16.)

The account, which Ptolemy gives of Assyria is more correct (L. 7.). He represents it as bounded on the north by the mountains of Armenia—on the west by the Tigris—on the south by Susiana—and on the east by a part of Media. This geographer has erred, however, in supposing Mount Niphates to have formed part of the northern boundary of Assyria. Mount Niphates was included within the limits of Armenia, and must have been considerably distant from the borders of Assyria, which country was bounded on the north by ridges of the Gordyæan, or Carduchian mountains.

But although the Greeks have too frequently confounded Syria with Assyria, it is yet easy to perceive, that this latter name was originally limited to a very narrow district. The region, which Strabo has denominated *Aturia*, was pro-

bably the original Assyria; for between Ashur and Atur there only exists a dialectical difference. Dio Cassius remarks, that Assyria was, after the mode of the Barbarians, called Aturia, the *sigma* being changed into *tau*. This observation would have been at least as accurate, if the writer had said, that the *sh*, or *s*, was frequently changed into *t* in the Chaldaic dialect. This dialect, though mingled with others, was probably generally spoken at Nineveh; and consequently the inhabitants of the country would denominate it *Atur* rather than *Ashur*.

Strabo and Dio Cassius appear not to be agreed about the extent and limits of Aturia. According to the latter Arbela was comprehended in this province; but according to the former, Arbela and the district belonging to it were separated from Aturia by the river Lycus. In following therefore the authority of Strabo, I should assign a triangular form to Aturia, which had the Carduchian hills for its northern limit, and which was bounded on its two other sides by the Lycus, otherwise called the greater Zab, and by the Tigris.

It seems to be supposed by some, that Aturia was the same with Adiabene; but this last province included Aturia within its limits. It extended from the banks of the Tigris, to the mountains of Zagros, and was watered by the streams of the Bumelus, and of the greater and lesser Zab.

The perverse vanity of the Greeks induced them to trace the name of Adiabene to their own language. Suidas tells us, that Adiabene was so named, on account of its numerous rivers, which rendered the passage through it extremely difficult. Now although he do not say so in express terms; yet it is pretty clear, that Suidas, or whoever was the author of the passage, derived Adiabene from α privative and διαβαίνω!

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Adiabene received its name from two perennial streams, which were called the *Diava* and *Adiava*. Bochart observes, that דיאב *diab* signifies *a wolf* in Chaldaic. It follows, that this is the same name as that which in another dialect is called זאב, *Zab*; and the Greeks only translated this word, when they gave the name of Lycus to the greater Zab.

It appears not so easy to say, why the Greeks denoted the lesser Zab (equally entitled to be called wolf with the greater,) *Kapros*, which signifies a wild boar. Bochart thinks that the stream was so called on account of its impetuosity, and cites Ovid to prove the justness of his conjecture. Another explanation has been given by Cellarius, who makes a distinction with Marcellinus between the names of *Diaba* and *Adiaba*. The latter was the appellation of the lesser Zab; and Cellarius thinks, that as דיאב *Diab* signified a wolf, *Adiab*, otherwise pronounced דובא *Duba*, signified a bear. The Arabs, however, he believes, might have called it عفر, *opher*, which in their language means a wild boar; but as עפר, *opher*, might be pronounced *gopher*, upon the same principle that עמרר, *Omorrha*, is pronounced *Gomorrha*, the Greeks might have easily converted *Gopher* into *Kapros*.

With due deference to Bochart and Cellarius, I shall not exactly adopt their explanations and etymologies. The greater, as well as the lesser Zab, was probably named from its colour. זהב, *zeheb*, signifies gold in Hebrew—דהב, *deheb*,

bears the same meaning in Chaldaic—זרב, *zarb*, denotes yellow, or golden in Arabic. Pliny (L. 6.) gives the name of *Zerbis* to the greater Zab, and this is clearly a corruption of the Arabic *zarb*, which, according to Tavernier and Howel, is still the denomination of the river. The modern Kurds, who, like the Assyrians of old, speak a mingled dialect, designate the lesser Zab by the name of صو علتون *alton su, gold water.* Thus it may be safely conjectured, that the Zab was originally called *Zeheb*, *Deheb*, or *Zarb*; and that the people converted the name into *Zab*, *Diab*, *Zeeb*, or *Deeb*, as they variously pronounced the word which signifies a wolf. It is, however, by no means improbable, that, in order to distinguish between the two rivers which bore this name, they called one of them, as Cellarius suggests, הדובא, *ha-duba*, the bear.

Among the various tribes which peopled Armenia, Assyria, Media, Arabia, and Mesopotamia, it is not surprising, that the rivers of those regions were known by a great number of different names. The Arab, who heard the Chaldean give the appellation of *Diab*, *wolf*, to a

river, would naturally translate this name into his own language, and would call it كفر *kaphar*. But the Greek stranger, who heard this name given to the river, and who understood that it signified a wild beast, might think that it was the same word with *Kapros*, and thus might change *the wolf* into *the wild boar*.

The lesser Zab was also probably known by another name which may have deceived the Greeks. We learn from modern travellers, and among others from Howel, that the lesser Zab is denominated *Altun-Kuphri*, and that a town on its banks is so called from the river. The name is ill applied to the town. علتون قفري, *altun-kuphri*, is a mixture of Turkish and Arabic, and signifies *golden pitch*. The colour of the river, and the numerous bituminous springs, which mingle with its waters, may have been the causes of its receiving this appellation. But the Arabic name of *Kopher*, or *Kupher*, *pitch*, may have been given from very remote times to the lesser Zab; and the Greeks, who heard the river thus variously named, *Kaphar*, a wolf, and *nahar Kupher*, river of pitch, may have confounded

the second of these appellations with the first, and perhaps have still thought, that they expressed its meaning by hellenising it into *Kapros*, a wild boar.

I can by no means agree with Cellarius in supposing the Arabs to have given the name of عفر, *Opher*, a wild boar, to the lesser Zab. If ever they called any Assyrian stream by this name, it was that which Arrian denominates *Boumados* in one place, and *Boumelos* in another. (L.L. 3. & 6.)

The learned reader will easily perceive that Βούμαδος (*Boumados*) is an error for Βούμαλος (*Boumalos*), or rather for Βούμαλλος (*Boumallos*); and that the Greeks must have supposed the river to have been named from some great and hirsute animal. Now it has been remarked neither by Cellarius, nor, as far as I know, by any other writer, that this was the very stream which the Greeks should have denominated *Kapros*. They seem to have been aware, that the Assyrians called one of their rivers by the name of the wild boar; but hearing the lesser Zab named *Kaphar*, (a wolf,) by the Arabs, and

*Nahar Kupher*, or *Kopher*, (river of pitch) both by those who spoke Arabic, and by those who spoke Chaldaic, they appear to have determined, from the similitude of sound, that this must be the river, to which the name of *Kapros* ought to be given. But the stream, which the Greeks called *Boumallos*, and which falls into the greater Zab about 30 miles above the junction of this last river with the Tigris, is called to this day חזיר, *Chazir*, wild boar. This is no doubt a corruption of the original name, which might have been taken from the Chaldaic חזר, *chazar*, *volvit*, and which might designate the torrent rolling down from the Carduchian mountains.

No writer, as far as I remember, has told us how the Assyrians came to call the Tigris by that name. As, however, they had the habit of punning on the names of their rivers, and the fancy of comparing them to wild beasts—as they called one a wolf, another a bear, and a third a wild boar, they may very possibly have compared a fourth to a tiger. None of the names, it is true, which are now given by the Orientalists to the Tigris, have the slightest con-

nexion with that appellation. Still I can have no doubt, that the Greeks were authorised by the example of the inhabitants of the country through which the river flows, in calling it Tigris; and I think this position will appear clear from the following explanation.

The name most commonly given to the Tigris by the Arabians is *Al Degelat*. This word bears the same sense with دجيل *degil*, and consequently signifies *liquid pitch* (Golius in voce). The bituminous springs which mingle with the Tigris at Mosul, and in other parts of its course, may have occasioned the river to receive this name. We have already seen, that the lesser Zab is called *Altun Kuphri* for a similar reason. Now if the Chaldeans translated *Al Degelat*, liquid pitch, into their own dialect, and gave the name to the river, they would probably call it, with the emphatic aleph, כפרא, *Chophera*, or perhaps *Nahar Chopher*, river of pitch. But the Assyrians, who had the fancy, or fashion, of calling their rivers by the names of wild beasts, and whose mixed dialect was chiefly formed of Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic words, would

easily change כפרא, *chophera*, the pitch, into כפירא, *chephira*, the lion. The Greeks, therefore, may have been only guilty of mistaking a lion for a tiger. The banks of the Tigris are infested with lions; but the tiger is an animal unknown in the neighbourhood of that river; neither is there any word in Hebrew, Chaldaic, or Arabic, to denote a tiger. The Persians, it is true, call this animal by the Arabic name of ببر, *babir*, but the Arabs themselves, when they speak of the *babir*, always mean to indicate the hyæna.

## CHAPTER II.

### *Of Gangamela, Larissa, and Mespyla.*

WITH the exception of Nineveh, the great capital of the Assyrian empire, there were few places of note within the limits of the province of Aturia. Of these Gangamela was one. It was here, and not at Arbela, that Darius was finally defeated by Alexander, and that the sceptre of Asia was wrested by the Macedonian from the Persian monarch.

The reader will remark, that I write Gangamela, and not Gaugamela, though this last be the favourite lection with all the critics and commentators, whose lucubrations I have had an opportunity of consulting. The old reading, in Strabo at least, was *Γανγάμελα*, *Gangamela*,

and to that I adhere. The geographer tells us, that this name signifies *a camel's house* (καμήλου οἶκος). Plutarch speaks nearly to the same purpose. Some degree of temerity may then be attributed to those critics, who, taking the word for Hebrew, have replaced Gangamela by Gaugamela, and have derived it from גב־גמל, *gab-gamel*, which they translate *camel's hill*. But it happens, that גבעה *gibeah*, and not גב *gab*, is the proper word for a hill in Hebrew; and a Jew, who had heard the words *gab-gamel*, would have understood by them, not *a camel's hill*, but *a camel's back*.

Bochart proposes an etymology of this name yet less admissible than that which I have just examined; and he confided too much in his own knowledge, vast as it certainly was, when he said, *Gaugamela Strabo et Plutarchus perperam exponunt cameli domus*. He argues, however, from the testimony of these authors themselves, that a certain tribute was paid for the maintenance of a camel employed in the king's service at Gaugamela, and that the place was called in conse-

quence גבינמלא *Gabi*, or *Gavigamela*, *vectigalia cameli*. But this learned man must have known very well, that he had no authority in *pure* Chaldaic for translating *gab*, or *gaba*, a tribute. Besides the place received its name from Darius himself; and it seems utterly improbable that this monarch should have expressed himself either in Hebrew or in Chaldaic. The old reading in Strabo was Gangamela; and I have little doubt that Darius called the place in the Persian language خان جمل *khan jamel*, *hospitium cameli*, or perhaps خانه جمل *khaneh jamel*, *domus cameli*. The reader will remark, that the modern Persian word *jamaz*, a camel, is merely a corruption of *jamel*; and that this last word, borrowed from the Arabic, is in fact the same with the Hebrew and Chaldaic גמל *gamel*, with this distinction only, that in Persian and Arabic the letter ج is always pronounced like the soft, and never like the hard *g*, for which reason it is expressed by a *j*, when placed before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*. I have therefore no hesitation in restoring Gangamela for Gaugamela, in all the authors where the name occurs, and

in rendering it with Strabo *camel's house*, or *habitation.**

According to Arrian (L. 3.) Gangamela was situate near the Bumelus at the distance of 600 stadia from Arbela. The Bumelus is a mountain torrent, which is still termed by the Kurds *Chazir-su*—Wild Boar water.

Xenophon tells us in the Anabasis, that the Greeks on their second day's march northward from the *Zabatos*, (the greater Zab,) came to a great and deserted city of the name of Larissa, which formerly belonged to the Medes. The walls, says he, were 25 feet in width, 100 in height, and two parasangas (about five miles and a half) in circuit. This city was situate on the *Pigres*, as Xenophon, or his copyist, inaccurately wrote the name of the Tigris; but the error is obvious, and easily corrected. It is not so easy, however, to understand how a city of Assyria came to be called Larissa. The author

* According to M. Anquetil du Perron *Gemna*, or, as he writes it, *Djemna*, was the word in Pehlvi for a camel. But this is still a corruption from the Hebrew and Chaldaic *Gamel*, and from the Arabic *Jamel*.

of the *Etymologicon Magnum* tells us, that the city Larissa was so named from the woman Larissa. But there were several cities which bore this name. Pausanias (L. 2.) says, that the acropolis at Corinth was called Larissa from the daughter of Pelasgus; and the same author mentions two Thessalian cities likewise called Larissa. We may be satisfied with this explanation as long as the Greeks speak of Greece; but the daughter of Pelasgus could have nothing to do on the banks of the Tigris. Bochart supposes that the real name of the city in question was *Resen;* nor is the conjecture improbable, since Resen was situate between Nineveh and Calach (Gen. x. 11.); though we shall see presently, that this very conjecture cannot be admitted, unless the position assigned by Bochart to Nineveh be relinquished.

We are not informed by Xenophon, how far the Greeks marched on the second day after they left the greater Zab. Their first day's march of only 25 *stadia* indicates the difficulties with which they had to struggle; but as they proceeded without molestation on the second day,

we may suppose them to have advanced 14 or 15 miles towards the Tigris, on the left bank of which stream they halted for the night. Here then was situated the deserted city, which Xenophon has named Larissa, and which we are perfectly certain could not have been so called by the natives.

Bochart thus explains the manner in which the Greeks may have come to denominate Resen Larissa. *Omnino igitur hujus urbis verum nomen interpolavit Xenophon, ut ad Græcam elegantiam accommodaret. Et verisimile est Græcis roganti-bus cujus urbis essent rudera, Assyrios respondisse* לרסן *Leresen, addito* le *ad genitivi notam, ut in* מזמור לדוד; *atque illud* Leresen *mutatum esse in* Λάρισσαν. The learned author then proceeds to show, that similar mistakes have been made even in the Vulgate; and he points out one at the 25th verse of the 4th chapter of the 1st book of Chronicles. (The error has been avoided by the English translators.)

This explanation is ingenious; but it seems more natural that the Greeks should have asked the name of the city at once; and I think it not

at all improbable that the answer might have been אלרסן *Alresen*, or even לרסן *Leresen*. We find that the word אל *al*, in Hebrew, forms the demonstrative pronoun in the plural number, and being of a common gender, answers to *hi*, or *hæ*, in Latin. But there can be little doubt, that *al* must have been originally used in the singular, though it came in time to be supplanted by ה *he* and זה *zeh*. Thus Daniel writes אלו *elo* in Chaldaic in the sense of *ecce* or *hicce*. The definite article ال *al* in Arabic is probably the ancient singular of the demonstrative pronoun, which is only found in the plural in Hebrew. The Assyrians, who seem to have spoken a mixed dialect, may have employed the Arabic article *al*, and in this case they might have named their ruined city *Al-Reseṇ*. Thus the Arabians say at this day *Al Medina al sheripha*, *Medina nobilis;* and prefix the article both to the proper name and to its epithet.

The particle (if I may so call it) ל in Hebrew sometimes supplies the place of the preposition אל, and is generally the sign of an oblique case, when prefixed to nouns. Its significations are

various, being equivalent to those of the Latin prepositions *ad, de, inter, juxta, pro, erga, secundum, contra, ab, cum,* &c.; and the reader can have no other choice among these significations than that which is dictated to him by the general sense of the passage where the particle occurs. It appears, however, that this prefix is frequently redundant, and emphatical. Thus at Ezekiel xxxvii. 27. we find the words, *yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people.* Here we have לאלהים *Lelohim* for אלהים *Elohim,* and לעם *lam* for עם *am.* We read in the second book of Samuel, that *Joab and Abishai his brother* הרגו לאבנר, *slew LAbner;* and we can have no doubt that *Abner* was the person slain. In like manner we are told in the first book of Chronicles (iii. 2.) that the third son of David was לאבשלום *LAbsalom;* but the name, as every one knows, was *Absalom.* Now in all these examples, it seems to me, the prefix ל is merely emphatical.

It may be remarked that this emphatic *lamed* most frequently occurs in Hebrew, where the substantive verb is either expressed or understood. Thus, *thou shalt be a father,* היית לאב

(Gen. xvii. 4.)—*He shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail* (Deut. xxviii. 44.). Here we have לראש and לזנב in the original.—*And Judah prevailed above his brethren;* ולנגיד ממנו, *and of him (was) the Prince* (1 Chron. v. 2.). It appears, therefore, that if the Greeks enquired what was the name of the ruined city, the answer might be, *it is* לרסן *Leresen;* and this would be idiomatic, even were it not true, that the prefix ל is occasionally redundant and emphatic in Hebrew, because we might still exactly adhere to the idiom, by rendering יש לרסן, *est pro Resen.*

Upon the whole then, it appears probable, that when the Greeks questioned the Assyrians concerning the deserted city, they were answered by the word *al-Resen*, or *le-Resen*, which they converted into *Larissa*, a name already familiar to their ears.

On the third day of their march from the Zabatus, the Greeks advanced northwards six parasangas, near 17 English miles, along the left bank of the Tigris, leaving *Resen*, which they called Larissa, behind them. It was therefore probably at the distance of about 34 or 35

miles from the *Zab*, that they halted on the third night, near another deserted city, which the reader will find denoted in D'Anville's map by the name of *Mespila* (*Μέσπιλα*). The same graphic error exists in all the editions of the Anabasis which I have seen, but the orthography is *Mespyle*, which signifies *media porta*, whereas *mespile* is the name of a fruit-tree; and we shall find it important to our enquiries concerning the site of Nineveh to mark the real meaning of *Mespyle*, which was obviously the Greek translation of the Assyrian name; and this name in Chaldaic was probably שער־תיכנא *Shaar-tichona*, —*Middle-Gate*. Xenophon says the city was six parasangas in circumference; and if the Greeks had already marched 34 miles from the Zabatus, they must have arrived very near to the spot, where, according to Niebuhr, now stands the village of *Kala Nunia*, the citadel of Ninus, or perhaps of Ninyas, nearly opposite to Mosul, which is situate on the right bank of the Tigris. This supposed citadel is believed to be placed in the midst of the district, where the immense city of Nineveh once stood. Various reasons,

however, induce me to think, that Nineveh, properly so called, was not situated in the immediate vicinity of Mosul; and I shall submit those reasons to the judgment of the reader in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER III.

### *Of Nineveh, or Ninus.*

NINEVEH, according to Strabo, (L. 16.) was a much larger city than Babylon; and Diodorus Siculus (L. 2.) states its length at 150, and its breadth at 90 *stadia*. Now the *studium*, by which Diodorus generally reckoned, when he spoke of distances in Asia, was equal to the 34th part of a parasanga, and amounted to 435 English feet. (*Classical Journal*, vol. 16.) It follows, that, reckoning by English measures, the city of Nineveh was 12 miles, 2 furlongs, 280 feet in length; 7 miles, 2 furlongs, 590 feet in breadth; and 38 miles, 5 furlongs, 70 feet in circumference. The walls of Nineveh, says the same historian, were 100 feet in height; three

chariots might be driven abreast on their summit; and the towers, each of which was 200 feet in height, amounted in number to 1500.

According to the book of Jonah, Nineveh was *a great city of God**—עיר גדלה לאלהים. It has been inferred from a passage in the same book, that the number of infants in this city amounted to 120,000; but the expression in the original Hebrew seems to be too vague, to serve as the basis of any exact calculation of the amount of the whole population.

Thus it appears both from profane and from sacred history, that Nineveh must have been one of the greatest cities of the earth; and the fate of this vast capital of a mighty empire affords one of the most remarkable examples exhibited in history of the instability of human grandeur. I propose to enquire in this chapter, where Nineveh was situated.

If we take Diodorus Siculus for our guide, we must look for the site of Nineveh on the banks of the Euphrates. According to Philo-

* This is an Hebraism which merely implies the immensity of the city.

stratus, who flourished towards the middle of the third century, Apollonius Tyaneus, who lived about a century and a half before him, passed from Antiochia through Old Ninus into Mesopotamia. Tacitus (Ann. L. 12.) speaks of Ninus as having been taken in the time of Claudius; and Ammianus Marcellinus (L. 14.) mentions Hierapolis, Old Ninus, and Samosata, as being great and flourishing cities of Comagena Euphratensis, about the middle of the fourth century.

The ancients, generally speaking, were careless geographers. Diodorus Siculus copied Ctesias, and this writer, who is little esteemed for his accuracy, and who received his information chiefly from the Persians, may have mistaken the Euphrates for the Tigris. This error might the more easily occur, that the latter river, though much shorter in its course than the former, was known by a great variety of names, with which a stranger might often be embarrassed. The Hebrews, if we follow the vicious pronunciation of the Masorites, called the Tigris חדקל, *Chiddekel;* but I can have little doubt, that the

proper lection is חדקל, *hadekel*, that is, *the Dekel*. This orthography is obviously pointed out by the Arabic appellation of the river ال دجل *al degel*, or دجلة *degelat*. The Arabs likewise denominate the Tigris *nahar al salam*, river of peace; *nahar Allah*, river of God; *nahar Cufa*, river of Cufa. Near Bagdad it is called ال زورا *Al Zora, the bow*, from the curve which it makes; and above its confluence with the Euphrates it is named ال شت سو *al shat-su*, the separate water. The whole of Babylonia was irrigated by branches from the two great rivers; and some of the canals which passed between them, such as the *Tsar-tsar* and *Nahar-malcha*, were of sufficient magnitude to pass for rivers. Pliny tells us, that the Tigris was denominated *an arrow* in the language of the Medes; and it is certain that the Persians still call it تیر *tir, the arrow*. This variety of names given to the same stream might perplex a traveller, and especially a Greek traveller, who could seldom speak the Oriental languages with fluency or accuracy. But there were yet other difficulties, with regard to the names of the Tigris and the Euphrates,

which might occasion mistakes concerning them. The Orientalists generally give the name of *Phrat* to the river, which the Greeks have taught us to call Euphrates. The Rabbin derive the name of *Phrat* (פרת) from *pharah* (פרה) to fructify; but the Arabic word *phrat*, (فرات) which signifies *fresh water*, offers a more probable etymon. Be this as it may, the Arabians, according to Giggæus, also denominate a branch of the Tigris *Phrat*; and thus a stranger might be induced to mistake the position of any city said to be situated on this branch of the Tigris, for one that was near the Euphrates. We have already seen, that the Arabians indicate the Tigris by various names, such as *Nahar Cufa*, *Nahar Allah*, &c. Now it may be easily imagined, that the denomination is frequently restricted to the word *Nahar*, which signifies *river;* and that the *Nahar Allah*, river of God, is often denoted simply *al nahar*, *the river*, by those who live near it, without the addition of its distinctive appellative. But the Euphrates was always denominated, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, *ha-nahar*, and *al-nahar*, the river, by the Jews and by the Arabians.

Thus again the Tigris and the Euphrates may have been mistaken for each other, by those who lived far remote from both, and who had not the means of being accurately acquainted with the course of either.

Under these circumstances it would perhaps be unjust to blame Ctesias very severely for mistaking the Euphrates for the Tigris; but it is more difficult to understand, how Diodorus Siculus adopted this error, and how Ammianus and Philostratus should have not only spoken of Nineveh as being situated on the Euphrates, but as being still in existence as a city, in the time of the Cæsars.

Ammianus describes Old Ninus, as he calls it, as being situated in Comagena, between Hierapolis and Samosata; and Philostratus indicates that Apollonius passed at the same place by a bridge, (which was no doubt on the Euphrates,) into Mesopotamia. Now in comparing the testimony of these two writers, we may safely conclude, that they both meant *Zeugma*, where was a bridge close to Apamea, and on the road to Anthemusia. The great road from

Antiochia to Edessa and Nisibis lay over this bridge of Apamea. Thus Pliny says, *Zeugma LXXII millibus passuum a Samosatis, transitu Euphratis nobile. Ex adverso Apamiam Seleucus, idem utriusque conditor, ponte junxerat;* and Strabo, speaking of the merchants of Syria, observes, that they pass the Euphrates near Anthemusia, a place of Mesopotamia (L. 14.). But the *Zeugma*, that is to say the bridge of which Pliny speaks, must have been very near the city now called *Bir*. It is true, that D'Anville places this city at about 10 English miles south of the site of Apamea; but as the great road from Aleppo to Orfa now conducts the traveller to *Bir*, where he crosses the Euphrates, I am much disposed to think, that the ancient bridge was at least as near to *Bir* as to Apamea, and that the distance between these two cities could not have amounted to 10 miles.

Philostratus tells us, that Apollonius passed into Mesopotamia at Old Ninus. Now as we may be almost certain, that a traveller at the present day, who was going from Antiochia to Edessa, would pass the Euphrates at

*Bir*, we shall perhaps be able to explain, how the Greeks and Romans came to suppose, that the ancient Nineveh was situated in Comagena on the banks of the Euphrates.

Nineveh signifies the habitation of Nin, the name of the reputed founder of the Assyrian empire. Nin signifies *filius*, and was the simple title taken by a monarch, who was proud to be called the son of Belus. But Nineveh appears (probably for the sake of brevity) to have been frequently denominated *Nin*, and hence the Greeks learned to call it *Ninos*, and the Latins *Ninus*.

The city of *Bir* stands on the slope of a mountain, on the eastern side of the Euphrates (Tavernier). At the foot of this mountain, and, situated on a steep rock, the walls of a very ancient fortress extend for a considerable way immediately above the river (Niebuhr). I shall leave it to others to decide whether or not the summit of this rock may have been formerly the site of the castle, which Strabo (L. 16. p. 516.) mentions as near to the bridge of the Euphrates; but I think there can be little doubt, that the

ancient name of *Bir* was *Birah* (בירה), or in Chaldaic *Birtha* (בירתא), which signifies *arx*, *castellum*, *palatium*.

The common appellation of the place is, and has been probably for many ages, *Bir;* and this name in Syro-Chaldaic, the ancient dialect of the country, signifies *filius*, and is consequently equivalent to *Nin*. Thus the word בירה *birah*, *castellum*, corrupted into ביר *bir*, *filius*, may have given rise to the notion, that the place was the same, which had been named from נין *Nin*, *filius*. The authority of Ctesias, whose romances had their advocates, may have further induced many to believe, that the ancient Nineveh was really situated on the Euphrates.

The existence, however, of this Ninus Euphratensis appears to me to be entirely imaginary. Herodotus, Arrian, Strabo, and Ptolemy, represent Nin, or Ninus, as situated on the Tigris, or at least in Adiabene, in the neighbourhood of that river. Diodorus Siculus himself, who had described Ninus in his second book as being situated on the Euphrates, mentions it in his 17th book as being near to Arbela, and

consequently not far from the Tigris. In like manner does Ammianus, in his 18th and 22nd books, speak of Ninus as of a city of Adiabene; though in his 14th book, as we have already seen, he mentions Old Ninus among the flourishing cities of Comagena. The learned author of Phaleg and Canaan tries to reconcile these contradictory statements, by supposing that there were two cities which bore the name of Nineveh—one on the Euphrates, and another on the Tigris. But Bochart has attributed too much importance to the evidence, which attests the existence of the supposed Ninus Euphratensis. The authority of Ctesias, whom Diodorus copied, will probably be little valued.

The next witnesses are Philostratus and Ammianus Marcellinus—the first a mendacious sophist, and the second an unlettered soldier. Bochart has likewise dug something out of Suidas about one Damis, who is called by that writer an inhabitant of Old Ninus. But from all this evidence I can only conclude, that Ctesias having erroneously asserted that Ninus was situated on the Euphrates, many European

strangers may have believed it to be the same as Bir, since the natives would tell them that the words *bir* and *nin* bore the same meaning, and might indicate the same place.

Moses Chorenensis, the Armenian historian, is the only Oriental writer, as far as I know, who has mentioned Nineveh as existing after its second capture by the Medes, 603 or 606 years before Christ. This writer pretends that Arsaces, who founded the Parthian Dynasty about 250 years before our æra, slew Antiochus (Soter) at Nineveh, and that the brother of Arsaces, who was appointed by him king of Armenia, found in the archives of that city a book written in Greek, and translated out of Chaldaic by order of Alexander the Great. This book contained the history of some ancient nations, and of Armenia among the rest. Moses Chorenensis has of course taken it as his guide; as Manetho copied the books of the Egyptian Hermes. I have only to observe that this is an idle story from beginning to end. It would however appear that the Armenian historian considered Nineveh, which he writes *Niniwue*, as being a city of As-

syria; nor does he hint at the existence of two cities which bore that name.

Let us now turn to examine the evidence on the other side, and we shall soon see how baseless is the supposed existence of Ninus Euphratensis. It is clear from Diodorus Siculus (L. 2.), that Ctesias, whom he copied, must have stated the total destruction of Nineveh to have taken place, when the Assyrian empire was subverted by the Medes. Strabo, who flourished in the time of Augustus, and shortly after Diodorus, speaks distinctly to the same purpose (L. 16.). What then becomes of the testimony of Tacitus, who speaks of Ninus as existing in the time of Claudius? Ammianus, about the middle of the fourth century, represented Ninus as a city of Comagena, and as near to Samosata. This testimony is entirely overthrown by that of Lucian, who wrote in the third century. This writer was himself a native of Comagena, and a citizen of Samosata. Had Ninus, or Nineveh, existed as a city of his country, it is impossible that he should not have known it; but we find on the contrary, that without giving the slightest

intimation of this city having belonged to Comagena, he declares it to have been so completely destroyed, that "not a vestige (οὐδὲν ἴχνος) of it remained, whence you could say where it had stood." A similar account is given by Cyrillus, in his commentary on the prophet Nahum, and Cyrillus flourished about 50 years after Ammianus. Having made this statement, I may leave the evidence of Philostratus to its fate. It is clear, that if Old Ninus had still existed as a city in the district of Comagena, during the third and fourth centuries, Lucian, a native of Comagena, must have known of it, since he flourished in the second; and it is equally clear, that if popular tradition, or vulgar opinion, represented any town in the neighbourhood as the ancient Nineveh, the report was totally discredited by the philosopher of Samosata.

When Bochart admitted, that there were probably two cities of the name of Ninus, he might have considered, that if Ninus Euphratensis had continued to flourish so late as the time of Julian, Ammianus and Philostratus would not have been the only authors from whom we

should have heard of its existence. Some geographer, either Greek, or Oriental, would surely have made mention of a place, which was evidently supposed, by those who called it Old Ninus, to have been once the capital of the Assyrian empire. But if Strabo and Ptolemy were convinced, that this name was idly given by ignorance to Zeugma, or Apamea, or more probably to *Bir*, they might naturally pass over the error in silent contempt. Neither is it less fatal to the supposed existence of this Ninus Euphratensis, that no Syrian tradition records its history, and that no eastern writer mentions its name.

Upon the whole then, we may conclude that there was but one city, which can be properly recognised as Ninus, or Nineveh. But here again a new field of discussion opens upon our view. Little doubt can arise, that Nineveh was situate near to the Tigris; and yet the exact site of that once mighty city is not perhaps quite so accurately ascertained, as some writers, both European and Asiatic, seem to believe.

Were we to trust to the guidance of general

opinion, we should seek for the site of Nineveh on the eastern bank of the Tigris, directly opposite to Mosul. The inhabitants of that city show to strangers a mount on which, they assert, once stood the citadel of Ninus; and they also show the vast remains of the ramparts, which surrounded the Assyrian capital, and which the uninstructed traveller might mistake, in his simplicity, for a ridge of hills, the work of nature and not of art (Niebuhr vol. 2.). In their zeal to prove the antiquity of their city, they call it Atur and Nineveh. Even the Jews of Mosul pretend to be antiquarians, and point out the places where the prophets Jonah and Nahum were interred. The tomb of Jonah is invidiously concealed from their view by a Mahometan mosque. (Tavernier L. 2. Niebuhr vol. 2. Howel's Travels, &c.)

Pliny is the only author of antiquity, who has stated that Nineveh was situated on the western bank of the Tigris (L. 6.). I know not whether it were out of deference to Pliny, that Mr. Gibbon has called Mosul a suburb of Nineveh.

We are told by Benjamin Judæus, who wrote

his itinerary in the year 1173, that a bridge over the Tigris united Nineveh and Mosul. But this writer confesses, that the city of Nineveh was destroyed, though many villages and hamlets were scattered over its site.

Tavernier, who travelled during forty years of the 17th century, describes the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite to Mosul, as exhibiting heaps of ruins, with a number of vaults and caverns (L. 2.).

A list is given by Niebuhr of the numerous villages, which are situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and which are comprehended in the Pashalik of Mosul; but the incredulous traveller speaks with evident contempt of the *pretended* ramparts of the ancient Nineveh (Vol. 2.).

Howel says, as Lucian had said sixteen centuries before him, that not a vestige of Nineveh remains.

Many circumstances induce me to believe that Nineveh, properly so called, was not opposite to Mosul. The ruins of the city, which Xenophon calls Mespyle, may be calculated, accord-

ing to the account given by that historian, to have been situate on the eastern bank of the Tigris about 34 English miles from the place, where the Greek army in its retreat passed the Lycus. If we suppose the passage to have been made immediately above the junction of the Lycus and the Tigris, the distance thence to *Kalla Nunia*, opposite to Mosul, would be about 46 English miles; but, as the two rivers form an acute angle where they meet, the distance to *Kalla Nunia* would not amount to more than 34 miles, if the Greeks passed the Lycus, half way between its mouth and the town of Chazir. (See D'Anville's map.) Now it appears, not only from Niebuhr's chart, but from all the accounts which we have of the country, that the Greek army, in marching from the lesser to the greater Zab, must have left the banks of the Tigris, and have crossed a ridge of the *Karageh-dag*, and have gained the plain of Arbela. The passage on the western side of these mountains, and along the left bank of the Tigris, from the mouth of the lesser to the mouth of the greater Zab, would have been extremely difficult, if not

impracticable. No mention is made of the Tigris during the march of five days from Cæne to the great Zab. It may then be presumed that leaving the Tigris they turned towards the east, crossed the *Karageh-dag*, descended into the plain of Arbela, and after having skirted the foot of the mountain on its eastern side, finally halted on the left bank of the great Zab, nearly half way between its mouth and its junction with the river Chazir. (Compare the maps of D'Anville and Rennell with Niebuhr's chart of Mosul and its environs, Vol. ii. p. 284.)

That this must have been the course followed by the Greeks appears evident from several circumstances stated by Xenophon. The two armies, according to the historian, were both encamped *on a plain* during the three days that the Greeks thought it necessary to halt on the left bank of the Zabatus. They could not, therefore, have been so near the mouth of that river as Major Rennell supposes, since the country is all hilly between the plain of Arbela and the Tigris. Mentioning the perfidious slaughter of the Greeks by the Persians, Xenophon says, μετὰ δὲ

ταῦτα τῶν Βαρβάρων τινὲς ἱππέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες ᾧ τινὶ ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἕλληνι ἢ δούλῳ, ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ, πάντας ἔκτεινον—" after these events, some of the cavalry of the barbarians, *riding through the plain*, attacked every Greek they met, whether slave or free-man, and killed them all." Now Major Rennell himself admits, " that the banks of the Tigris, as well as the country, to a considerable extent within them, are described by M. Thevenot and others, to be extremely rough, hilly, and wild; and much infested with lions between the two Zabs." It is clear then that the Greeks and Persians were encamped on a plain, on the left bank of the Lycus, or great Zab, considerably above its junction with the Tigris.

The Greek army regained the eastern bank of the Tigris at Larissa, after the second day's march from the great Zab. This circumstance likewise shows, that the Greeks crossed the latter river, at a considerable distance from the former. Upon the whole, therefore, I should conclude that the third day's march would bring them to the spot, where Kalla Nunia now

stands, and nearly opposite to Mosul. Here was consequently the site of the ruined city, which Xenophon has denominated *Mespyle.*

The cities in the neighbourhood of the great Assyrian capital might be in some degree considered as its suburbs. Thus the name of Nineveh may have been extended far beyond the limits of the city properly so called; and thus, it seems to me, is to be understood the expression in the book of Jonah, where the extent of Nineveh is stated to be מהלך שלשת ימים, *a journey of three days.* The cities, which Xenophon calls Larissa and Mespyle, were probably considered by the sacred writer as dependencies and suburbs belonging to the capital.

Although it be probable, that each of these cities had its particular name in the Assyrian dialect, yet from some expressions in the book of Nahum, I am induced to think that they were called *Gates.* The sacred writer says, in the burden of Nineveh, *the gates of the river shall be opened—the gates of thy land shall be set wide open unto thine enemies.* When Xenophon gave the name of *Mespyle,* (Middle-gate) to an Assyrian

city, it is clear that he translated it out of Assyrian into Greek. Ptolemy mentions two cities, which were situate between Marde and Nineveh, and which he calls *Sauara* and *Bessara*. The first of these two names seems to be a corruption for שער, *shaar*, *porta*; and the second, I am disposed to believe, must have been called בית-שער *Beth-shaar* in the language of the country. This last name signifies literally *domus portæ*, and was the appellation generally given in Palestine and Syria to the palace, where the King, or Governor, seated on a throne, gave audience in the gate-way to the people, and distributed justice. It seems probable, therefore, that when the author of the book of Jonah described the extent of Nineveh as equal to a journey of three days, he included in this extent some of the cities, which were adjacent to the capital, and which were called its gates.

I shall now state the reasons which induce me to think, that Nineveh, properly so called, was not situated opposite to Mosul, but that it occupied the space between the Tigris and the Zabatus, or Lycus, for an extent of several miles,

immediately above the confluence of those rivers.

1. The plain, if plain it can be called, which lies on the eastern bank of the Tigris, directly opposite to Mosul, is, by the admission of Major Rennell, only four miles in breadth. This could not, therefore, have been the site of Nineveh, if Diodorus be correct in stating the breadth of that city at 90 stadia. (Rennell's Illustrations p. 153. Diodor. Sicul. L. 2.)

2. Strabo, after mentioning Arbela as belonging to Babylonia, on the side of which it lay; adds, ἐν δὲ περαίᾳ τοῦ Λύκου, τὰ τῆς Ἀτυρίας πεδία τῇ Νίνῳ περίκειται. Here it is distinctly said, that the plains of Aturia beyond the Lycus (considered from Babylonia) lie round Ninus. Those plains were therefore only separated from the plains of Arbela by the river Lycus, below its junction with the river Chazir; (Strabo L. 16. D'Anville's map. Niebuhr vol. 2. tab. 45.) nor can it be well supposed that Strabo could possibly mean the country opposite to Mosul, since this city, at the nearest point, is 30 miles from the Lycus. (See Rennell's map.)

3. It appears clear from the sacred writings, that Nineveh had been environed with rivers. *The gates of the rivers shall be opened—Nineveh is of old like a pool of water—Draw thee waters for the siege—and will make Nineveh a desolation, dry like a desert—Art thou better than No Amon, that was situate among rivers?* These citations, and especially the last, could scarcely have been applicable to Nineveh, if that city had been opposite to Mosul; but they become perfectly appropriate, if the Assyrian capital were situate immediately above the confluence of the Tigris and the Lycus.

4. The passage in Nahum, (at c. iii. v. 8,) has been altogether misrepresented in the Latin version, and has not, I think, been quite accurately rendered in the authorised English translation. All the translators have understood יָם *yam* in this verse to signify the sea. *Art thou better,* (says the Prophet, in apostrophising Nineveh,) *than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea.* In the Vulgate No Amon is translated Alexan-

dria; and it is probable that Jerom, anxious to find an Egyptian city on the sea-coast to answer this description of Nineveh, forgot at the moment that Alexandria was not founded until three centuries after the time of Nahum. But it seems very unlikely, that the sacred writer should have compared Nineveh, an inland city, with Alexandria, a sea-port town, even had this last been in existence when he wrote. Some have idly fancied, that Racotis, an obscure village, on the site of which Alexandria was built, might have been meant by the Prophet. But the great capital of the Assyrian empire, at the distance of 350 miles from the sea, could scarcely be compared with any city on the coast; and I can have little doubt, that by No Amon was meant Thebes, or Diospolis. By the word ים *yam* I therefore understand in this place a great river, or a great confluence of waters, such as may be produced by the rapid stream of the Tigris where it meets the not less impetuous torrent of the Zabatus. Let the reader turn to Jeremiah, (c. li. v. 36.) and he will see that the word *yam* indicates a great

river. The Prophet speaks of the *yam* of Babylon—*I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry.* The sea of Babylon could only be the Euphrates, as the Nile must have been the sea of Amon-No. In a word, *yam* is applied to any great body of water.

5. According to Diodorus Siculus, there were mountains at the distance of 70 stadia from Nineveh, and plains intervened between these mountains and the city. But how shall we call the country, between Mosul and the mountains on the opposite side of the river, a plain country, when Mr. Howel compares the appearance of it to that which is presented to the inhabitant of London by the high grounds of Highgate and Hampstead? Niebuhr tells us distinctly, that the pretended ramparts of Nineveh were really natural hills. But even if this were a plain country, it is only four miles broad. Now, according to Diodorus, the city, at least in one part of it, was more than seven miles broad; and the plains beyond it, and between it and the mountains, extended near six miles. If Diodorus be right, Nineveh could not have been

situated, where the inhabitants of Mosul represent it as having been placed.

6. If we believe Diodorus, the Medes only obtained possession of Nineveh, because the river had thrown down the wall to an extent of 20 stadia. But Diodorus, still misled by Ctesias, supposes the river to have been the Euphrates. This error, however, does not prove the remainder of the narrative to be false; and the allusions made by Nahum to the waters, which surrounded Nineveh, and formed its rampart, seem to confirm the account of the Greek historian. It was an ancient tradition, says Diodorus, that Nineveh could not be taken, unless the river first became hostile to the city. Now from the representation, which Niebuhr gives of Kalla Nunia (vol. 2. tab. 47.) it seems difficult to imagine how the Tigris could have risen at that place so high above its eastern bank, as to have thrown down walls of the strength, which we must attribute to those of Nineveh. If however we suppose this city to have been situated near the confluence of the Tigris and the Lycus, we can more easily understand how such an effect

might have been produced, because when these two rivers are in flood their waters will of course inundate the low parts of the country which lie between them. Now, although a considerable portion of the ground, which I suppose to have been the site of Nineveh, be rough and unequal, yet there were valleys in this space. There were also flat grounds, as we shall presently see, on the side of the city next the Lycus. Neither ought we to wonder at this diversity of surface, when we consider that Nineveh extended, at the lowest calculation, 12 English miles from north to south, and, on its northern side, 7 English miles from east to west. Niebuhr speaks of a dyke, which is thrown across the Tigris eight German miles below Mosul, and near to Nimrod's tower, for the purpose of raising the water, which is carried off in canals to irrigate the neighbouring plains. The right bank of the Lycus, from its junction with the Bumelus to its mouth, appears to be very little elevated above the level of the river. Aturia, says Strabo, resembles the country round Arbela, being only divided from it by the Lycus; and Arbela, ac-

cording to the accounts of travellers, was situated on an eminence in the midst of a very extensive plain. Oriental writers speak of two cities which are placed on the banks of the Lycus, or great Zab. One of these cities, which is situated on the left bank of the river, about 12 miles above its mouth, in a small plain, or valley, at the foot of the Karageh-dag, or Black mountain, is called *Ghilon*, and there can be little doubt that this is the same city which Pliny has named *Aloni*. (L. 6. 26.) غيل *Ghil*, or *Ghilon*, in Arabic, signifies an irrigated valley. In Hebrew אלון *Alon* signifies a plain. (עד אלון מורה, *ad planitiem Moreh.)* The other city stands on the right bank of the Lycus, and is called *Chalitha*, which name D'Anville has ill changed into *Haditha*. חילתא *Chelitha* signifies a valley in Chaldaic. Niebuhr gives the name of *Kshaf* to this place. I conclude that this is the Arabic word كشف *Kashaph*, which signifies *an opening*, probably the opening into the valley through which the Lycus flows. Now this city, whether we call it *Chelitha*, or *Kashaph*, is built on the right bank of the Lycus, just above its junction with

the Tigris, and consequently at the southern angle of the space, where I suppose Nineveh to have stood. It appears, that all the grounds on the same side of the Lycus, and contiguous to that river, are flat, and consequently are liable to be inundated. Thus, we can easily understand how the walls of Nineveh, even to the extent of 20 *stadia*, may have been thrown down by the Lycus, before its struggling waters, swollen to unusual magnitude, perhaps by the melting of the snows, could force their way into the channel of the Tigris, when that stream might be equally raised above its usual level.

I have already observed, that the ground where I suppose Nineveh to have stood, was low and flat in some parts, and especially on the side next the Lycus, while it was hilly and uneven in others. The walls of the city were washed by the Tigris on the west side, and by the Lycus on the east side. Two smaller streams must have flowed through the middle of the city, if we can trust to the accounts of travellers; or indeed to Rennell's map, though he has diverted one of these torrents into the Tigris, where a

mountain, or at least some very high ground, seems to oppose its passage. Thus, according to the words of the sacred writer, Nineveh, like Amon-No, "was situate among the rivers," and "had the waters round about it." If we suppose Nineveh to have stood opposite to Mosul, we shall in vain attempt to explain the language of the Prophet.

7. Resen, according to the sacred historian, was situate between Nineveh and Calach (כלח); and there can be little doubt that this last city was the same which is mentioned by Strabo (L.L. 11 and 16.) and by Ptolemy (L. 6.) under the name of *Kalachene*, or *Kalakine*. The district, to which it gave its name, was in Assyria, near the Gordyæan mountains, and just beyond the southern confines of Armenia. Consequently Calach must have been to the north of Resen, if Resen, as Bochart has argued, was the same city which Xenophon calls Larissa. But since Resen was placed between Nineveh and Calach, Resen must have been to the north of Nineveh. It follows, that Nineveh could not have been opposite to Mosul, but that it might

have had its site immediately above the confluence of the Tigris and the Lycus. (See the chart in Cellarius L. 3. p. 602.)

The authority of various Oriental writers, such as Edrisi, Benjamin Judæus, and Haico the Armenian, will no doubt be opposed to me. But Oriental writers are far from being agreed among themselves about the site of Nineveh. The Persians pretend that Mosul was founded by Tehmureth, or Tahamarth, while they say nothing of the citadel of Ninus. Some authors pretend that Mosul is a city of comparatively recent date, and that this name formerly belonged to a much more ancient city, which was situated on the Tigris thirty miles higher up than Mosul. The city denominated Beled in our maps is certainly called *Mosul al atik*, and *Eski Mosul*, Old Mosul, by the Arabs and Turks; and this is believed by many to have been the site of the ancient Nineveh. (See D'Herbelot p. 649.)

The Oriental writers, whose names I have mentioned, have merely adopted popular traditions. The inhabitants of the New Mosul, by

far the larger city of the two, have seen more strangers, and have found more believers, than the inhabitants of the Old. Their legends imposed so much even on the cruel and victorious Timur Lang, that after having sacked their city, he built a magnificent mosque over the reputed tomb of the Prophet Jonah. (Narrative of Abdul Kerim.)

The traditions of the inhabitants of Mosul appear to me to be of very little authority. The time is passed, when conjecture, appealing to legendary tales, could give the lie to probability; and when fiction, wearing the veil of antiquity, could escape the detection of criticism. Credulity has been taught some useful lessons on the plain of Troy, where travellers, deceived by local traditions, long mistook the ruins of Alexandria Troas for those of the ancient Ilium. Perhaps the day is not distant, when antiquarians will acknowledge, that they have been as much in error about the site of the city of Ninus, as they once were about that of the Pergamus of Homer.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Enquiry concerning the founder of the Assyrian monarchy.*

NINUS, according to Diodorus Siculus, or rather according to Ctesias whose account he copied, was the original founder of the Assyrian monarchy. But I have shown in the preceding book, that Ninus was the son of Nimrod, or Belus, and that the dominions of this latter prince were not confined to the narrow region of Babylonia. I have therefore no hesitation in assenting to the supposition of Vossius, who thinks, that Ninus added Assyria to his father's empire; but that it was under the auspices of Nimrod, then an old man, that he carried on the war (L. 1. c. 16.).

That Nimrod reigned over Assyria as well as

over, Babylonia appeared so clear to Junius, that he proposed to translate the 11th verse of the 10th chapter of Genesis—*He (Nimrod) went out of that land into Assyria, and built Nineveh*, &c. It is possible that this interpretation may give the real sense of the passage; but as it has been rejected by the greater number of Hebrew critics, I shall not attempt to draw any conclusion from it. The words of the prophet Micah, who calls Assyria the land of Nimrod, sufficiently prove that prince to have reigned on both sides of the Tigris; and traces are still to be found, both in Armenia and in Kurdestan, of the name and empire of the father of Ninus.

It is not my intention to speak in this place of the traditions of the Orientalists concerning Nimrod; but we can hardly suppose his name to have been given to mountains, cities, and fortresses, in countries over which he had never ruled. Thus we may consider it as at least probable, that he had penetrated into Armenia, when we find a chain of mountains near to the lake of Vann called to this day *Gebel-Nimrod*. Arbela, situate, according to Niebuhr's chart,

about 10 German miles beyond the Tigris, was apparently denominated in Chaldaic עיר־בל, *Air-Bel*, the city of Belus. Finally, Niebuhr makes mention of a ruined citadel called Nimrod, about eight leagues from Mosul, but on the opposite side of the Tigris. This citadel is probably of much later date than the name which it bears may seem to import; but still this name may have been given from a very remote period to the spot, where the citadel now stands in ruins. I do not admit, that Nineveh was situate opposite to Mosul, because a hill there is called *Kala-Nunia;* and yet I think this a proof, that Ninus must once have been master of the place which was called after his name. In like manner I infer, that the father of Ninus must have reigned over the regions, where, down to the present time, mountains and cities are named after Nimrod and Belus.

The Persians, as I have had occasion to state in the preceding book, affirm the identity of Nimrod and Zohak; and represent the conqueror of Iran as a robber, a usurper, and a

tyrant. But it is probable that they have attributed to Nimrod some of the achievements of Ninus, who during the long reign of his father may have conducted the victorious Cushites from the banks of the Tigris to those of the Oxus, and who, when Nimrod grew old and infirm, may have imitated the rapacity of the mighty spoliator, and have become the rival of his military glory. The Greeks, on the other hand, say nothing of the wars carried on, or of the conquests made by Nimrod, or Belus; and have recorded events as having happened during the reigns of Ninus and Semiramis, which probably took place at an earlier period. Thus Diodorus says, that Babylon was founded by the widow of Ninus—an error, for which he has been justly censured by Josephus.

But with the understanding that Diodorus has blended into one the names and the characters of Nimrod and Ninus, and that he has attributed to the son much that belonged to the father, whose history he has entirely omitted, we may generally take this writer as our guide in examining the events by which was effected

the establishment of the Assyrian empire. I mean it not, nevertheless, to be supposed, that I am about to make a translation, or a literal transcript from the pages of Diodorus, or that I shall enter into the details which are given by that historian. Neither shall I hesitate to differ from him, where I think myself justified in doing so, either by the probability of circumstances, or by the authority of other writers. I shall not, however, interrupt the narrative, to attribute to Nimrod what Diodorus ascribes to Ninus. The reader has been already warned upon this subject; and can scarcely be misled by the mistakes of the Greek historian.

Ninus appears to have been inspired, from an early period of life, with the love of military glory, and to have ably calculated the means of gratifying his ambition. We first hear of him as surrounded by a band of youthful companions, whom he instructed in the art, and accustomed to the labours and dangers of war. Either unable to subdue his Arabian neighbours, or contemning the possessions of those ancient tenants of the desert, he wisely formed an alli-

ance with their king, while he turned his arms against richer nations, and sought to gather laurels in nobler contests. The fertile plains and wealthy cities of Babylonia were soon overrun and conquered by the numerous armies of the Assyrian and Arabian monarchs. The inhabitants were compelled to pay an annual tribute to the victors; and the king of the country, with his children, was made a captive, and put to death.

Armenia next attracted the attention of Ninus. Already had that monarch, whose ambition was as active as it was lawless, passed the Armenian frontier, and taken several cities, when Barzanes, the king of the country, seeing himself unable to maintain the contest, advanced, not to oppose the haughty invader, but to conciliate him with presents, and with promises of unlimited submission. Ninus, *magnanimously*, says the historian, permitted Barzanes to retain his government, on condition that he became the ally of the Assyrians, and furnished their monarch with troops and provisions in his military expeditions. It must, however, be confessed,

*Orig.*

that if this were magnanimity, it was the magnanimity of a robber, and not of a king. Barzanes, from being an independent sovereign, became the vassal of Ninus.

This restless warrior now turned his arms against Media. Pharnus, the king of that country, in vain opposed him in battle; and, deserving of a better fate, he was taken prisoner, and was crucified, with his wife and seven children, by order of the Assyrian tyrant.

Success encourages, but never satisfies, ambition. After having made himself master of Babylonia, Armenia, and Media, Ninus meditated the conquest of all the countries between the Tanais and the Nile; and after having subdued Syria, Phœnice, and Asia Minor, this prince pursued his victorious career beyond Mount Caucasus, and extended his empire along the eastern shores of the Euxine sea, to the Palus Mæotis, and the waters of the Volga. Every people, from the borders of Egypt, to the coast of the Caspian sea, and to the frontiers of Parthia, acknowledged his sway; unless indeed we except the Hebrews, and a few hordes of

barbarians, who fled from his power across the burning sands of Arabia, or who defied it on the frozen summits of the Armenian mountains.

These numerous acquisitions seem only to have inspired the victorious Ninus with the desire of obtaining more splendid triumphs, and of achieving more important conquests. The great and powerful kingdom of Iran was contiguous to his own. The ambition of Ninus was tempted by the hopes of conquering that kingdom; and perhaps his jealousy was excited by the wealth and grandeur of its monarch. A range of lofty mountains separated Media from Iran, and presented a formidable barrier to the progress of the invader; but passing through the narrow defiles, which are called the Caspian Gates, the son of Belus overcame all the obstacles which were opposed to him, and penetrating into the midst of a country, which was apparently unprepared to resist his attack, he subdued the provinces, which have since been known by the names of Parthia, Susiana, Carmania, Aria, and Margiana. The conquest of Bactriana presented greater difficulties to the

ambitious monarch; and resolving to invade that country at a future period, when circumstances might be more favourable to his intentions, he abandoned the enterprize for the time, and retired with his army into Assyria.

Seventeen years had elapsed, since Ninus, entrusting the government of Media to the care of a satrap, had been engaged in perpetual wars, and had successively subdued all the kingdoms and provinces of western Asia, from the shores of the Mediterranean to the confines of Bactriana, when he seemed at length to turn his thoughts to peace and tranquillity. He dismissed his vassal, the king of Arabia, with all his troops; and founded a city, to which he gave his name, and in which he proposed to fix his residence. But the ruling passion of Ninus was as clearly exhibited in the building of the new city, as in the wars which he had carried on. All the forces of the empire were employed in raising the lofty walls of Nineveh; and not only the principal inhabitants of Assyria, but those of all the surrounding and tributary nations, soon thronged the city which had already re-

ceived the name, and which was honoured with the presence and the protection, of their sovereign. The capital of the Assyrian empire was evidently intended by its founder to become the capital of Asia and of the world. No city, before or since its existence, can be compared with it in size; and the strength, grandeur and extent of its walls have never been equalled. The project of building such a city betrays the aspiring spirit and ambitious character of Ninus; but the successful execution of that project proves the firmness of his mind, not less than it displays the solidity of his power, and the magnitude of his resources.

The thoughts, however, of this great and ambitious prince were still bent upon war and conquest. He knew that he held his Iranian possessions by an uncertain tenure, while Bactriana continued to resist his power; and he recollected with anger, and perhaps with shame, that he had been baffled in his attempt to subdue that country. Resolved, therefore, that no means should be wanting to the success of a new expedition, he assembled all the troops which

he could raise throughout his vast empire, and marched against Bactriana with an army, (if we believe Ctesias,) of 1,700,000 infantry, of 200,000 cavalry, and of 10,000 chariots armed with scythes. These numbers have no doubt been greatly exaggerated by the Cnidian historian; and Diodorus Siculus has in vain attempted to justify a statement, of the improbability of which his very defence proves that he himself was aware. The forces of Ninus were, however, so numerous as to oblige him to divide them into separate bodies, not only on account of the narrowness of the defiles through which the troops were obliged to march in crossing the mountains, but on account of the difficulty of supplying them with provisions on the way.

Bactriana contained many populous and flourishing cities; but of these Bactra was the most distinguished, from its being the residence of the Court, and from the size and strength of its citadel. It was here, according to Diodorus, that Oxyartes reigned; but the Greek historian mistook for a proper name the ancient Persian words, which were equivalent, as I have shown

in another place, to *the Great King*. Thus it appears, that it was from the lawful monarch of Iran, already deprived of more than half his kingdom, that Ninus endeavoured to wrest the remainder. We shall see in a succeeding book, that this unfortunate Prince was named Gem-Shid, the last of the Peshdadian dynasty. In the commencement of the war he seems to have acted with the energy, and to have displayed the talents, of an able commander. He assembled round him all those who were capable of bearing arms; and enrolled, if again we are to trust to Ctesias and Diodorus, 400,000 men in his service. He waited, apparently in ambush, for the hostile troops, while they descended from the defiles of the mountains; and when he saw their numbers sufficient for his purpose, he attacked them on the plain, and drove them back upon the mountains with the loss, we are told, of 100,000 men.

The success of the Persians was of short duration. Overpowered at length by numbers, they were dispersed, and fled for refuge to their cities and fortresses, which were easily subdued

and taken by Ninus, with the exception of Bactra, which continued to resist the assaults of the besieging army.

There was at this time in the camp of the Assyrians a chief of the name of Menones, who, during the still protracted siege of Bactra, impatiently regretted the absence of his wife, who was equally distinguished by the accomplishments of her mind, and by the beauty of her person. This woman, in order to comply with the wishes of her husband, who had found means to inform her of his sentiments, quitted Nineveh, and arrived in safety in the Assyrian camp. When she appeared before Menones, she was attired in a loose and flowing robe, which, while it concealed her sex, added grace and dignity to her appearance; and such was the admiration excited by this vestment, that it was considered for many ages as the model of dress in the capital of the Oriental world. But objects of more importance than the elegance of her attire occupied the attention of the consort of Menones. Immediately after her arrival before the walls of Bactra, she proceeded to exa-

mine the state of the siege, and soon perceived, with the eye of an experienced warrior, the faults which had been committed in conducting it. Aided no doubt by the authority of her husband, she directed a chosen body of men to scale the rock, on which the citadel was built; and when she saw that they had reached the summit, and had obtained possession of a part of the citadel, she gave the signal to the troops on the plain to storm the wall at the foot of the rock. Thus was the citadel taken by assault; and the Bactrians, seized with a sudden panic, abandoned the defence of the city. Ninus, admiring the extraordinary talent and valour displayed by this female warrior, presented her with magnificent gifts; but the admiration of a man for a beautiful woman is easily changed into a more tender sentiment; and the Assyrian monarch endeavoured to persuade Menones to cede to him his wife, and even promised to give him his own daughter in marriage, as the reward of his complaisance. The tyrant, finding his offer rejected, threatened to put out the eyes of his victim; and the unhappy husband, driven to

madness between love and terror, hung himself in a fit of despair.

Every obstacle being removed by the death of Menones, Ninus espoused his widow, the celebrated Semiramis, who has been the heroine of history and of fable for nearly four thousand years. Whether she sprang from the unchaste loves of the son of Apollo and of the Goddess Derceto, or whether she were the daughter of the shepherd Simma, her beauty and her talents sufficiently account for the good fortune which attended her. Menones, the Governor of Syria, smitten with the charms of her person, had not disdained to espouse an humble shepherdess; and, soon convinced of the superiority of her judgment to his own, he asked and followed her advice upon every occasion. After his death, when seated on the first throne of the world, she knew how to divide with Ninus the admiration of mankind, and to share the glory of the greatest monarch of the age. In her the King of Assyria found a spirit as lofty, a genius as vast, and an ambition as inordinate as his own; and this haughty Prince probably soon disco-

vered with regret, that he had met with an equal in a wife, and had given to himself a rival in a woman. Uninfluenced by any of the gentler feelings of her sex, Semiramis imitated the manners and even the dress of a man, and, accustomed to hardships, and inured to fatigue, led the life of a soldier at the head of an army. This mighty-minded female seemed indeed to have been born to govern mankind. Her dauntless courage was alarmed at no danger, and perhaps her daring spirit shrunk from no crime. Ambition was her passion, war her occupation, and power her object.

By the fall of Bactra, called Balkh by the Persians, the whole kingdom of Iran was annexed to the Assyrian empire. But Ninus appears not to have long enjoyed the fruits of his success; and his death has been attributed, probably with truth, to the perfidious ambition of the ungrateful Semiramis. This Princess immediately seized the reins of government, which she continued to hold with a steady hand during the remainder of her life.

It is not my intention to enter into any details

concerning the reign of Semiramis. Although the expedition, which she undertook against India, did not succeed, yet the whole of Asia to the west of that country continued to acknowledge her sway. During her long and active reign she devoted herself to the cares, which the government of a vast empire requires of the sovereign. In every part of her dominions she encouraged commerce and agriculture. Mesopotamia was intersected with canals; high roads were constructed at a prodigious expence; and, if we believe the historian, hills were levelled, and valleys were elevated, to facilitate the passage of travellers, and the march of troops. Many cities were built, and more were enlarged and embellished, by the munificence of Semiramis. Among these last we may reckon Babylon, which was not founded by Semiramis, as Ctesias and Diodorus have reported; but which probably owed to that Princess many of its ornaments, and much of its grandeur.

Semiramis died at an advanced age, after a reign of forty-two years. She was succeeded on the throne by her son Ninyas, whom she had

borne to Ninus, and who has been accused of hastening the death of his mother. This Prince, who has been represented, perhaps unjustly, as weak, luxurious, and effeminate, was the model of all his successors on the throne of Assyria; nor is it very credible that he merited the contemptuous language which has been held concerning him, since we shall see, in another chapter, that though he was not the founder of the Assyrian monarchy, it owed its long duration principally to his prudent, or, as it may perhaps be better termed, his crafty policy.

## CHAPTER V.

*Chronological remarks concerning the commencement and the duration of the Assyrian Empire.*

THE duration of the Assyrian monarchy has been differently stated by almost every ancient author who has mentioned the subject. Herodotus has assigned to it 520 years; Ctesias upwards of 1360 years, or upwards of 1300 years, according to the varying testimony of Diodorus Siculus; Justin 1300 years; Castor 1280 years; Velleius Paterculus 1070 years; Cephalion 1013 years to Sardanapalus; Eusebius 1240 years; Agathias 1306 years; Georgius Syncellus, and Julius Africanus, 1460 years. Neither are the ancients agreed about the number of reigns. Diodorus Siculus, as shall be shown presently, reckoned 33; Velleius

Paterculus counted the same number; but Castor and Eusebius enumerated 36; Julius Africanus 41; Georgius Syncellus 40; Alexander Polyhistor 45; Moses Chorenensis 32 after Semiramis; Cephalion probably 33, and not 23, as stated by Eusebius and Syncellus. (*Herodot. L.* 1. 95. *Diodor. Sicul. L.* 2. 21, 23, & 28. *Euseb. Chron. Can. L.* 1. *Syncell. Chronograph. Mos. Chorenens. Hist. L.* 1. 18.)

Julius Africanus has rendered the question concerning the epoch when the Assyrian empire was founded, more perplexing than it would otherwise have been, by the list which he has given of the first sovereigns of Babylon; and by pretending, that the dynasty of Belus, or Nimrod, terminated at the seventh generation, and that the throne of Chaldea was afterwards occupied by an Arabian family, of whom six reigned in succession, until Babylonia was conquered by Ninus. But this statement stands in opposition to all historical testimony both sacred and profane. We know, from the book of Genesis, that Nineveh, (the habitation of Ninus,) was built in the time of Nimrod; and it is im-

possible, therefore, to suppose, that Ninus did not live until thirteen generations after Nimrod. That Nimrod and Belus were the same; and that Ninus was the son of this primæval monarch, I have already proved from various authorities, and more may be found in the pages of the ancient chronographers. Africanus may be right, (for I adopt with him the chronology of the LXX), in asserting, that two different dynasties had reigned over Chaldea before the time of Ninus; but he is manifestly wrong, in representing the first of those two dynasties as descended from Nimrod. (Syncell. p. 90.)

In order to discover, if this indeed be possible, the epoch when the Assyrian empire was founded, we must begin by ascertaining the period of its fall. This event, it is now generally allowed by chronologers, took place in the year 747 before the Christian æra. We have Ninus at the beginning of the line, and Sardanapalus at the end. The problem is to determine the duration of the interval, between the time when the former mounted the throne, and the time when the latter descended from it.

Immense learning has been displayed in investigating this subject. M. Anquetil du Perron, in the Memoir which he read before the French Academy in 1773, has given an analysis of the opinions of almost all the modern chronologers, who have endeavoured to ascertain the duration of the Assyrian empire. Among the most distinguished writers whom he cites, not one agrees with another. Calvisius differs from Usher, Marsham from Helvicus, Petavius from Scaliger, Riccioli from Conringius, Freret from Newton, Desvignoles from Freret, and each from all the rest. M. Anquetil himself agrees with none of these authors; and endeavours to reconcile the Greek with the Oriental chronographers. This writer has been sneered at by Larcher, who might have refuted him, had the translator of Herodotus possessed only a competent knowledge of the learning and languages of the East. His own Memoir, published in 1782, *Sur quelques époques des Assyriens*, though containing many just remarks, and much acute criticism, throws no new light upon the origin and duration of the Assyrian empire.

With all due deference to the illustrious men, whose names I have mentioned, they seem to have too eagerly sought for certainty, where it cannot be found. Instead of endeavouring to obtain some general results, which might approximate to the truth, they have tried to reach the truth itself; and instead of arguing from the whole collective evidence before them, they have insisted upon the existence of particular facts, and formed their conclusions from the testimony of particular writers. Helvicus believes Ctesias and Justin; Marsham trusts to Herodotus; Scaliger adopts the canon of Julius Africanus, which is rejected by Petavius; Conringius treats Ctesias as a fabulist, and yet he frequently supports the testimony of that historian, who, with Julius Africanus, is defended by Riccioli and Strauchius; the Jesuit Tournemine and Buddæus fight under the banners of Herodotus; and Perizonius thinks he has removed all objections to the canon of Julius Africanus, in admitting the chronology of the LXX, while he forgets that the testimony of the sacred historian clearly supposes Ninus to have been con-

temporary with Nimrod. A momentary shock was given to all these systems by the great Newton, who however cannot be admired for his skill in chronology. This celebrated philosopher, founding his opinion on a few insulated facts, believed the duration of the Assyrian monarchy to have been limited to less than two centuries; and he tried in vain to amalgamate the traditions of the Greeks with those of the Persians, and to reconcile the accounts of sacred with those of profane historians. The learned Freret, who has successfully refuted Newton, has endeavoured to establish an agreement between the contradictory accounts of Ctesias, Castor, and Velleius Paterculus, by maintaining that there were three different Assyrian monarchs of the name of Sardanapalus. This opinion has been attacked by Larcher; and has not, as far as I know, been defended by any succeeding chronologer.

There can be no doubt, that, as Nineveh was twice taken by the Medes, first under the command of Arbaces, in the year 747 before the Christian æra; and secondly under the com-

mand of Cyaxares, in the year 603 before the same epoch; the Greeks may have been led into mistakes and contradictions concerning the duration of the Assyrian empire. This empire was in fact dissolved in the time of Arbaces; but as Assyria still existed as a kingdom, and as Nineveh was not destroyed, until the reign of Cyaxares; the difference between the state of Assyria before Sardanapalus, and after the death of that monarch, may have escaped the attention of writers, who were not accurately acquainted with Oriental history. Thus much may be allowed for the contradictory statements of some of the ancients concerning the duration of the Assyrian empire; and this explanation may be admitted, without supposing the existence of more than one King of the name of Sardanapalus.

After the failure of so many great men to ascertain the exact duration of the Assyrian empire, it is not for inferior strength to undertake the task. Some enquiries may however be allowed to curiosity; and probable inferences may be admitted, where certain conclusions cannot be obtained.

I propose, from the collective evidence before us, to consider, *first*, what was the probable number of reigns from Ninus to Sardanapalus; *secondly*, how far the period, resulting from the number of reigns, will accord with the testimony concerning the number of years that the empire lasted; *thirdly*, how we can account for the different statements of ancient authors concerning the duration of the monarchy; and *fourthly*, what was the epoch when Ninus lived.

1. According to the canon of Julius Africanus the number of Assyrian Kings amounted to 41; and Georgius Syncellus, who reckons 40, reproaches Eusebius for having mentioned only 36. The canon of Julius Africanus is said to have been founded on the authority of Ctesias. This assertion may be questioned; and Syncellus may have unjustly blamed Eusebius, who intimates, that his canon was made out from amended copies of the ancient books. It is consequently evident, that in the judgment of Eusebius, the ablest chronologist of his age, errors existed in the ancient tables. Africanus and Syncellus seem to have followed the old

copies, without admitting the alterations. The latter (p. 168.) has likewise censured Cephalion, for assigning 1000 years (he should have said 1033) to the Assyrian empire, and for supposing that in so long a period there might be only 23 reigns. There can be little doubt that such a calculation contradicts all probability; since it would give, at an average for each reign, about 43 years and 7 months, during a period of 1000 years. But may it not be suspected, that the text of Cephalion had been corrupted by the copyists? There was quite time enough for this to have happened between the age of Cephalion and that of Syncellus. Cephalion professed to give the statement of Ctesias. Now Diodorus Siculus, whose writings must most probably have been known to Cephalion, and who, in every thing that regards the history of the Assyrians, seems never to have differed from Ctesias, without mentioning the opinion of that historian, enumerates 33 reigns. Velleius Paterculus, who likewise generally follows Ctesias, reckons the same number. Is it not therefore probable, that the copyist may have erroneously

substituted 23 for 33 in the text of Cephalion? There is, however, a defence which may be offered for the statement of this writer, even as it stands in Eusebius and in Syncellus. If the reader will turn to Syncellus, p. 359, he will find it reported, that the posterity of Ninus and Semiramis became extinct in the person of Beleus; and that the sceptre passed into the hands of a certain Belitaras, whose descendants continued to govern the kingdom until the time of Sardanapalus. Syncellus refers to Bion and Polyhistor, who state the duration of the Assyrian empire at 1306 years. Now the Beleus and Belitaras of these writers are clearly the Belochus and Balatores of Eusebius. Cephalion may have meant to speak of the descendants of Ninus; and he may have stated the number of these to be 23, though in the canon of Eusebius Belochus is mentioned as the 19th, and Balatores as the 20th King of Assyria. I wish not however to insist on this defence. I rather believe, that 23 had been substituted for 33 by an error of the copyist.

Syncellus likewise reprehends Cephalion

for placing the reign of Teutamus immediately before that of Sardanapalus; and if the war of Troy happened, as Cephalion asserts, during the reign of Teutamus, the statement is without doubt grossly erroneous. But here again I should be disposed to lay the blame on the copyists. Let it be observed that Cephalion flourished in the 2nd century; Eusebius in the 4th; and Syncellus in the 8th. Chronological questions, which relate to remote times, have little interest for the greater number of readers. Cephalion's work was probably read by few. Those, who were employed to write it out, might have been careless about the task; and without accusing the author of strange inaccuracy, we must suppose, that it was by an error of the copyist, that Teutamus is placed as the immediate predecessor of Sardanapalus, in the list of Cephalion. If this chronologer, who was also an historian, placed Sardanapalus, the last of the Assyrian monarchs, immediately after Teutamus, who lived during the siege of Troy, he must have committed an error in his calculation of more than 400 years according

to Ctesias, and of more than 550 years according to Herodotus. It seems evident, that the text of Cephalion was corrupted before the time of Eusebius; nor do I much hesitate to read 33 for 23, as the number originally written in Cephalion's canon.

In the printed edition of Moses Chorenensis the number of Assyrian monarchs is stated at 29 after Semiramis; but we learn from Maius that the number is 32 in the manuscript copy. Now the Armenian historian is supported in neither of these statements by any other author. I much suspect, that he either said, or meant to say, that there were 32 Assyrian monarchs after Ninus, including the reign of Semiramis. Those, who possess the MS., will be able to decide upon this question.

The state of the evidence then seems to stand thus. Julius Africanus and Syncellus reckon 41, and 40 generations; Castor and Eusebius count 36; Diodorus Siculus and Velleius Paterculus reduce the number to 33; and it may be thought extremely probable, though it cannot be esteemed as positively certain, that

Cephalion and Moses Chorenensis made the same calculation. I am aware, that the testimony of Diodorus may be differently understood, as the text is now printed at Book 2nd, Sections 23, and 28; but if the reader will turn to Section 21 of the same Book, he will see, that in the two passages which may be objected to me, the reading ought evidently to be *ἀπὸ Νινύου*, instead of *ἀπὸ Νίνου*; and he will have the less hesitation to admit this alteration, when he knows that it was proposed by Larcher. Another difficulty may be suggested with respect to the evidence of Diodorus. According to Eusebius and Syncellus, the Sicilian historian reckoned Sardanapalus as the 35th monarch, who had reigned over the Assyrians; and upon the authority of these two chronographers, Scaliger proposed to insert *καὶ πέμπτος* after *τριακοστὸς*, at the beginning of the 23rd Section of the 2nd Book. But Wesseling, in answer to Eusebius and Syncellus observes, *contra utrumque veniunt scripti Codices miro consensu, quinque additas generationes sive ætates, et hic, (nempe C. 21,) et C. 28, præfracte refutantes.*

The common calculation allows three generations for a century. If we retrench one year from the century, and allow 33 years for each reign, or generation, (and this calculation seems to me to come as nearly to precision as possible,) the Assyrian empire ought to have existed 1353 years according to Africanus, who counts 41 generations—1320 years according to Syncellus, who counts 40 generations—1188 years according to Castor and Eusebius, who count 36 generations—and 1089 years according to Diodorus Siculus and Velleius Paterculus, who count 33 generations. We may repeat, with every appearance of probability, this last reckoning for Ctesias, Cephalion, and Moses Chorenensis.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The same subject continued.*

2. I SHALL now proceed, in the second place, to examine what were the different periods assigned by all these authors themselves to the duration of the Assyrian empire. Africanus and Syncellus reckon 1460 years. If 41 reigns be assigned to this period, 35 years and about 7 months must be allotted, at an average, for each. If the number of reigns were 40, nearly 36 years and 6 months must be calculated for each. The reckoning of Africanus for the whole period consequently exceeds the regular calculation by 106 years, and that of Syncellus is removed from it by not less than 139 years.

Diodorus Siculus states the duration of the

Assyrian empire at upwards of 1300 years. But as this historian reckons only 33 reigns, he thus assigns nearly 40 years on an average to each; and varies from the regular calculation by more than 220 years.

Eusebius says in the first book of his Chronicles, that the Assyrian empire lasted 1240 years; and Augustin appears to have copied the same statement (De Civ. D. 6. 4.). But Eusebius has besides given us two catalogues of the Kings of Assyria, the first in the first book, and the second in the second book. In the edition which Maius has published, the Latin version of the Armenian copy differs from the Greek. According to the first catalogue, apparently taken from Castor, the number of reigns amounts to 36; and the duration of these reigns extends to 1224 years. In the second catalogue the number of reigns is the same; but the duration of these reigns is stated at 1240 years, while the Latin version of this catalogue gives 1249 years. It appears, therefore, that Eusebius allowed nearly 34 years, on an average, to each reign; and to this calcula-

tion I should not greatly object, if it did not seem to be a calculation founded rather on the chronological skill of the author, than on any historical documents which he possessed. Syncellus accuses Eusebius of having retrenched four reigns, which were mentioned in the original tables; and it is likewise clear, that Eusebius must besides have shortened the periods of several of the reigns, as they had been stated in those tables; because in the longest catalogue which he gives, he allows only 1240 years for the duration of the Assyrian monarchy, and in the original tables, where only four more reigns are mentioned, the duration of this monarchy is extended to 1459 years. But the lists given by Eusebius are unfortunately inconsistent with each other. Not only do they differ with regard to the duration of the monarchy; but the length of individual reigns is so greatly changed, as to make it difficult to conceive, how these two catalogues should have been both admitted by the same writer. Thus the reign of Baleas, the 9th King, which lasted for 52 years, according to the catalogue

in the second Book, lasted for only 12 years, according to the catalogue in the first Book. On the whole, I am much inclined to believe that Eusebius not only distrusted the guidance of Castor and of Africanus, but had not himself come to any fixed opinion concerning several points which regarded the chronology of the Assyrians. That he had no high notion of Africanus as a chronologer, is evident from the manner in which he reprehends him in another part of his work (Armenian version p. 70); and that he himself was not decided in his opinions, appears from the contradictory statements which he has exhibited. He saw that the canon of Africanus, which assigned more than 35 years, on an average, to 41 successive reigns, could scarcely be reconciled to probability; and perhaps he was aware, that in allowing nearly about 34 years to each reign in a succession of 36 monarchs, he was admitting fully as much as prudent calculation could justify.

It seems not improbable, that Eusebius might have been influenced by the authority of Cas-

tor, in limiting the number of reigns to 36. But Castor reckoned 1280 years for the duration of the monarchy; and this period exceeds by nearly 100 years the term which results from the usual calculation of generations. The Bishop of Cæsarea, therefore, while he adhered to the statement of Castor, with respect to the number of reigns, rejected it with respect to the number of years assigned to the duration of the empire.

Velleius Paterculus has most distinctly stated the number of reigns at 33, and the duration of the monarchy at 1070 years. This author, therefore, differs from the regular calculation by only 19 years (L. 1.).

The statement of Cephalion (Euseb. Chron. L. 1.) gives 1033 years for the duration of the monarchy. If Cephalion reckoned only 23 reigns during this period, he must have allowed nearly 45 years for each reign; and he must have differed from the regular calculation by more than two centuries and a half, in the space of little more than 1000 years; but if this chronologer counted 33 reigns, as I have en-

deavoured to show he probably did, his calculation will only differ by 56 years from the theoretical rule.

Much stress has been laid by Freret on a passage cited by Velleius Paterculus (L. 1. C. 6.) from Æmilius Sura. This author says, that the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians and the Macedonians, had been masters of Asia, until it was conquered by the Romans; and that 1995 years had elapsed from the beginning of the reign of Ninus, to the epoch which he had just mentioned. I confess, I do not comprehend Freret's reasoning upon this evidence, which after all does not appear to be of any importance; and the explanation of it requires neither much research, nor long examination.

The Assyrian Monarchy was subverted by the Medes in the year 747 before Christ. The Medes retained possession of Assyria during 209 years; the Persians were masters of the country for about 207 years; and the Macedonians, who succeeded them, cannot be considered as having ruled over Asia, after the Mithridatic war had left the Romans the real

sovereigns of all the regions not only from the Mediterranean to Mount Taurus, but from the Nile to the Euphrates. Mithridates was finally defeated by Pompey 66 years before the Christian æra. If then Æmilius Sura meant to say, as it appears he did, that the period between the accession of Ninus, and the epoch when the Romans gave undisputed law to the kingdoms of Asia, lasted for 1995 years, the Assyrian dynasty must have commenced 2061 years before Christ, and must have continued to reign for 1314 years. But how can we know, whether Sura placed the capture of Nineveh by the Medes under the same date, as is done by modern chronologers? How can we ascertain, what was the period which this writer allotted to the government of the Medes, Persians, and Macedonians? Are we quite sure, that he considered the rule of the Macedonians in Asia to have continued so long as down to the termination of the Mithridatic war? Unless we can answer all these questions, what use can we make of the evidence of Sura? As far as I can judge, this writer nearly followed the beaten

road, and took Diodorus Siculus for his guide, in estimating the period of the duration of the Assyrian empire. But who was Æmilius Sura? It is more than suspected, that the passage in question is an interpolation; and even if it were not, nothing can be obtained from it. An author, whose name occurs no where but in the 21st page of the first book of Velleius Paterculus, tells us that the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and Macedonians, had been the masters of Asia during 1995 years, until that country was conquered by the Romans. The witness is unknown, and his evidence is vague. I can attach no value to the testimony of Æmilius Sura.

It appears that the first catalogue given by Eusebius approaches nearly to the rule, which has been laid down for the calculation of a series of reigns. But the learned Bishop of Cæsarea not only made no scruple of altering the numbers, which he found in the ancient canons, but changed in his second catalogue the statements which he had made in his first. He omitted four of the reigns mentioned in the

tables of Africanus. In citing Diodorus, he has added two to the real number stated by that historian; and has changed in his second list the number of years, which, in giving Castor's corrected canon, he had assigned to the duration of the monarchy in his first. The decisions of Eusebius are too arbitrary, and his opinions too inconsistent, to authorise their adoption.

The account, which fixes the number of reigns at 33, seems to be the best authenticated. In favour of this account we have the positive evidence of Velleius Paterculus and of Diodorus Siculus; and we thence may infer, that this was the statement of Ctesias. There is also much presumptive proof, from which we may argue, that the same number was originally given in the chronological canon of Cephalion. Moses Chorenensis, the celebrated Armenian historian, reckons 32 reigns after Semiramis; but if the name of Semiramis be not erroneously placed by this writer for that of Ninus, which I much suspect, his account differs from that of Diodorus by only one reign.

Having fixed upon 33, as the most probable number of reigns, we can scarcely doubt that of all these writers Velleius Paterculus mentions the most probable number of years for the duration of the monarchy; since the period, which he states, amounts to 1070 years, and falls short of the regular theoretical calculation by only 19 years. In making this observation, however, I only mean to say, that this historian appears to come nearer to the truth than any of the rest. There are not sufficient *data* to authorise a more positive sentence.

## CHAPTER VII.

*The same subject continued.*

3. We must now, in the third place, endeavour to discover, if by any probable reasons we can account for the extraordinary differences, which exist among historians concerning the duration of the Assyrian monarchy. It is not yet the time to speak of Herodotus. We must begin with considering the reports of those writers, who seem to differ most from that historian.

After Herodotus and Ctesias, Castor, who flourished about a century before the Christian æra, is the most ancient author, who has mentioned the duration of the Assyrian empire; unless Abydenus and Polyhistor, who have made some short remarks on the same subject, be ex-

cepted. Whence Castor, who fixes the duration of the monarchy at 1280 years, drew his information it would be now impossible to say; but his canon, though inserted by Eusebius, appears to have been altered before the time of that chronologer; and it is difficult to imagine, why Eusebius should have adopted the number of reigns stated by Castor, when he allowed that it was necessary to shorten the number of years assigned by that writer to the whole period. It is pretty clear, that in the time of Castor the best, and perhaps the only accurate information, concerning the Assyrian empire was to be had from Herodotus and Ctesias. Castor certainly did not follow Herodotus. It is probable then, that he consulted Ctesias. But the copies of Ctesias appear to have differed. There can be no doubt, however, that, according to some of them, the duration of the Assyrian empire was fixed at rather more than 1300 years. But Castor, who was a chronologer, must have seen, that it was absurd to reckon only 33 reigns, (as Ctesias did, or had been made to do by the copyists,) during a period of thirteen centuries.

He, therefore, cannot be much blamed for endeavouring to amend so preposterous a calculation. According to Velleius Paterculus, who seems to have taken Ctesias for his guide, the number of reigns, including those of Ninus and Semiramis, amounted to 33. Diodorus, who closely follows Ctesias, reckons 30 kings after Ninyas. But we have already seen, that the name of Ninus, in the 2nd book of Diodorus, has been twice erroneously written for Ninyas; and it is not unlikely, that in some of the copies of Ctesias these names may have been written for each other. In the passage of the Cnidian historian from which Paterculus, for example, took his information, Ninyas may have been incorrectly inserted for Ninus in the copy consulted by Castor. In this case Castor may have understood that there were 33 reigns after Ninyas. I much suspect, however, that this chronographer may have mistaken the same monarch in one or two examples for two different persons; because different appellations were given to the same Prince. This error appears likewise to have been committed, and

to have been more frequently repeated by Julius Africanus. No one, who is at all versant in the ancient history of the Oriental nations, can doubt that the same monarch often bore different names and titles. There were probably only 30 sovereigns of Assyria indicated by Ctesias as having reigned after Ninyas; but as some of these bore two or three different names, succeeding writers may have supposed that each name belonged to a distinct person. Thus the catalogue of Assyrian Kings may have been extended to 36 by Castor, and to 41 by Julius Africanus. Castor, who was a better chronologer than Africanus, may have been the more easily induced to extend the number of reigns to 36, that he must have been aware that 1300 years was too long a period to assign for 33 reigns. He himself has exceeded the regular calculation by nearly 100 years in assigning 1280 years to 36 reigns. Accordingly Eusebius, who followed Castor in reckoning the same number of reigns, has reduced the period in his first catalogue to 1224 years.

Julius Africanus, who wrote in the third cen-

tury, and shortly after the copy of the Septuagint was found, composed his work chiefly with the view of supporting the chronology of the Greek interpreters. It may be questioned, whether he were adequate to the task. He has been supposed by some authors to have exactly followed Ctesias with respect to the chronology of the Assyrians. If he really did so, this fact will only serve to prove more clearly than before the various readings, which existed in different copies of Ctesias, since it cannot be supposed that Diodorus, Velleius Paterculus, and Cephalion, voluntarily misrepresented the meaning of that historian. It is, however, very possible that in the original catalogue of Ctesias different names may have been sometimes given to the same sovereign, and that Africanus erroneously repeated these names as belonging to different Princes. But there are two objections which appear to me to be insurmountable, and which may be made to the canon of this chronologer. In adopting it we must assign 35 years and about 7 months at an average to each reign during a period of 1460 years; and we must

suppose Ninus to have reigned 200 years before the time of Abraham in contradiction to the great mass of evidence, which represents Ninus as the contemporary of the Patriarch.

Let us now turn our attention to Diodorus Siculus, who professes to tread in the steps of Ctesias. He tells us, that after Sardanapalus, ἡ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονία μετέπεσεν εἰς Μήδους, ἔτη διαμείνασα πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ἔτι δ' ἐξήκοντα, καθάπερ φησὶ Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ—*the empire of the Assyrians was transferred to the Medes, having lasted more than* 1360 *years, as Ctesias the Cnidian says in his second book.* But in a few pages afterwards the following passage occurs: ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀπὸ Νίνου (lege Νινύου) διαμείνασα μὲν τριάκοντα γενεὰς, ἔτη δὲ πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων, ὑπὸ Μήδων κατελύθη τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον—*thus the empire of the Assyrians, which had lasted for thirty generations from Ninus,* (read *Ninyas,*) *and for more than* 1300 *years, was overthrown by the Medes in the manner already related.* The discrepancy between these two statements must strike the most careless observer. Nor is this

all. In the last cited passage τετρακοσίων exists in several copies for τριακοσίων; and thus Diodorus is made to say that the Assyrian empire lasted for 1400 years, while according even to the present reading of Ninus, instead of Ninyas, he counted only 30 reigns. He must consequently have reckoned nearly 47 years, at an average, for each reign.

But when both these errors are corrected, and when we suppose Diodorus to have reckoned 33 reigns, and 1300 years for the duration of the monarchy, the calculation still remains too remote from probability. It appears clear to me that the text of Ctesias had been altered by the copyists; and that Diodorus was embarrassed by various readings. Trogus Pompeius, it is true, who flourished in the same age with Diodorus, likewise reckoned, if we can trust to the epitome of Justin, 1300 years for the duration of the Assyrian empire. But as Diodorus, in one of the passages cited from him, states the period at 1360 years, the evidence of Trogus, or of Justin, only confirms the suspicion, that there existed different readings in different co-

pies of the text of Ctesias. Neither can we be certain, that the text of Diodorus himself has not been corrupted. We have seen, that, according to Eusebius, he reckoned 35 generations. Agathias makes him state the duration of the empire at a little more than 1306 years; and thus must have read ἓξ (six), where we now read ἑξήκοντα (sixty).

It may then be questioned, whether the reading could have been the same in the copies of Ctesias consulted by Diodorus and by Trogus. Diodorus first reckons the period at more than 1360 years, and afterwards at more than 1300 years; and this vacillation probably proceeded from his having two different copies, in which two different statements were made. Trogus, or Justin for him, reckons the period at exactly 1300 years; and gives no intimation, that it might be more.

Velleius Paterculus flourished about half a century after Diodorus Siculus and Trogus Pompeius. It is scarcely possible, that he should not have frequently consulted their works. His account of the Assyrians is clearly

borrowed from Ctesias; and unless his copy of the history written by that author, had warranted the assertion, how can it be supposed, that he would have ventured, in opposition to two such historians as Diodorus and Trogus, to state the period of the duration of the Assyrian empire at 1070 years?

But the testimony of Cephalion is still stronger. This writer lived in the time of Adrian; and he could not have been ignorant of the statements of Diodorus and Trogus. In his account of the Assyrian empire, he consulted Ctesias and Hellanicus, and occasionally Herodotus; but it is clear from Eusebius, (Chron. L. 1.) who gives us this information, that Ctesias was his principal guide. It was on the authority of Ctesias, that he reckoned the number of reigns, no doubt at 33, and not at 23, as is stated in Eusebius; and it may be concluded, that it was on the same authority, that he reckoned 1013 years for the existence of the Assyrian empire, to the period when Sardanapalus mounted the throne. It is obvious, therefore, that Cephalion must have found

and preferred a different reading in Ctesias, from that which existed in the copy consulted by Diodorus.

It does not appear clear, whether Cephalion reckoned from the beginning or the end of the reign of Ninus. If he considered this Prince as the founder of the monarchy; and reckoned the commencement of the empire from the time, when at his death it was extended to its utmost limits by the recent conquest of Bactriana; his calculation will very nearly coincide with the rule established for reckoning generations. If he dated the commencement of the empire, from the beginning of the reign of Ninus, he differs from the regular calculation by 56 years.

Upon the whole then, I am inclined to believe, that the text of Ctesias had been much corrupted by the copyists; that in the case which we are considering, different statements of the numbers of years had been introduced into different copies; that this circumstance has chiefly occasioned the variety of accounts, which we have received from those authors who have taken Ctesias for their guide; and

finally, that Velleius Paterculus and Cephalion possessed copies of that historian, which offered more probable calculations, than those contained in the copies consulted by Diodorus and Trogus.

We have now to consider the testimony of Herodotus—a testimony, which must be estimated as important, since it comes from him; and which, if it be accurate, appears to overthrow that of all the writers whose calculations we have been hitherto examining. The Assyrians, says the father of history, had been masters of Upper Asia for 520 years, when the Medes were the first to rebel (L. 1. 95.). Among the followers of Ctesias, Cephalion, who reckoned 1013 years to the commencement of the reign of Sardanapalus, has given the lowest estimate of the duration of the Assyrian empire. It seems therefore impossible to reconcile the account of Herodotus with that of Ctesias; and yet unless this be done, one of the most important questions in ancient chronology can never be decided. Neither of these two authorities can be rejected, without creating objec-

tions which are not to be vanquished. He, who would set aside the testimony of Ctesias, would have to support his opinion against that of almost all the historians and chronographers of Greece and Rome. He would have to encounter the reports of various Oriental writers, which confirm some of the statements made by Ctesias. He would have to show, why an historian, who was protected by the Persian monarch, and who was probably disposed to flatter the Persians, should have gratuitously represented Persia, as having been conquered by Ninus, and as having remained for many centuries a province of the Assyrian empire. Neither Diodorus Siculus, nor probably any other author of antiquity, was ignorant of the statement of Herodotus. How happened it then, that, with I believe only two exceptions, no ancient writer has followed the Halicarnassian historian? It may be said, that Diodorus Siculus was prejudiced in favour of Ctesias; and it is true, that, with respect to the question before us, he has shown great inaccuracy in citing Herodotus. But even if the accusation of par-

tiality can be justly brought against Diodorus, it would be absurd to impute an undue prepossession in favour of Ctesias to the host of ancient writers, who have adopted, with more or less exactness, his account of the rise and fall of the Assyrian empire. The very causes of our general distrust of the Cnidian historian ought to render us cautious of rejecting his evidence in the present instance. The abridgement, which Diodorus has made from his history of Assyria, (with the exception of the birth of Semiramis) contains none of the monstrous improbabilities, which, in the extracts of his works preserved by Photius, seem intended to astound credulity itself. The ancients must have been well aware of the defects of Ctesias as an historian; and in following his account of the long duration of the Assyrian empire, they must have been convinced, that that account was founded upon authentic documents.

But on the other hand there may not be less temerity in rejecting the authority of Herodotus. The good faith of this historian can scarcely be questioned; and if he sometimes showed him-

self credulous, he was less so than Ctesias. He had made the subject in question the object of his particular attention; and he either wrote, or intended to write the history of the Assyrian empire. How then can it be supposed, that he was so ignorant of the origin of this empire, as to fix the date of its commencement, at the lowest estimation, more than five centuries too late?

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has been thought by some to favour the statement of Herodotus. But the author of the Roman Antiquities merely says, that the origin of the Assyrian empire goes back to the fabulous times of the Greeks; and this language is so vague, that no positive conclusion can be drawn from it.

The evidence of Appian of Alexandria seems more decided; but it is so manifestly founded upon the authority of Herodotus himself, that it proves no more, than that the father of history was followed, in his opinion concerning the duration of the Assyrian monarchy, by at least one writer of antiquity.

The statement of Alexander Polyhistor, as reported by Eusebius, is more important. Po-

lyhistor enumerates 45 kings after Semiramis, and states the duration of their empire at 526 years. (Euseb. Chronic. L. 1. p. 18. apud Maium.). These numbers are clearly inconsistent with each other; and the writer idly supposes 45 monarchs to have reigned in succession during 526 years, when not 12 years could thus be assigned at an average to each reign. But the period of 526 years approaches so nearly to that mentioned by Herodotus, as to deserve peculiar notice. Polyhistor flourished in the time of Sylla. He appears to have been too credulous, and to have possessed no great share of critical sagacity; but he had studied with attention the writings and traditions of the Chaldeans. The report, which he makes of the duration of the Assyrian empire, seems to have been taken from the Orientalists, and not from Herodotus, from whom he differs by six years in his calculation. It is true, that this difference is trifling; but still it is improbable that the writer would have made it, had he taken the historian of Halicarnassus for his guide. But if Polyhistor obtained his inform-

ation from the Orientalists upon this subject, as he appears to have done upon most others which related to their history, his testimony tends strongly to confirm the assertion of Herodotus.

M. Larcher, in his learned and able essay on the chronology of Herodotus, has made the following observation. " Je ne puis cependant m'imaginer qu'Hérodote ne donne que 520 ans à la durée de l'empire Assyrien. En examinant de près son texte, je crois entrevoir que cet historien ne parle que du tems de sa plus grande gloire." This explanation of the meaning of the historian seems to me to be inadmissible. Herodotus evidently considered the Assyrian empire to have existed 520 years, when the Medes threw off the yoke of their masters. Now Dejoces was chosen King of Media in the 4th year of the 17th Olympiad of Corœbus, 40 years after the death of Sardanapalus. But according to Herodotus there existed an *autonomia* among the Medes, previous to the election of Dejoces; and the commencement of this *autonomia* may therefore be dated

with the greatest probability from the capture of Nineveh by the Medes under Arbaces. Unless, then, we believe the whole history of Ninus and Semiramis to be a fable, we cannot allow that the period, between the years 1267 and 747 before Christ, was the time of the greatest glory of the Assyrians. Herodotus says 520 years had elapsed, since they were masters of Upper Asia, when the Medes revolted. But Ninus and Semiramis had left to their successors the dominion of all Asia to the west of the Indus, and to the south of the Scythian deserts, Palestine alone excepted. We know that from the year 1040 to the year 970 before the Christian æra the Kings of Judea had extended their dominions from the river of Egypt to the banks of the Euphrates. Syria was then a powerful kingdom; and the Arabians were united under a monarch of their own. Under all these circumstances, it is difficult to understand, how the last five centuries of its duration should have been the most brilliant period of the Assyrian empire.

There seems to me to be only one way, by

which we can reconcile Herodotus and Polyhistor with Ctesias and his numerous followers. It appears from Bion and Polyhistor cited by Agathias, as well as from the report of Cephalion stated by Syncellus, that an important revolution took place in the Assyrian empire not long after the time of Beleus, or Belochus, who had elevated his daughter Atossa, or Badossa, to the throne. This Princess had reigned about 17 years according to some, or 12 years according to others, when Belitaras effected a revolution in the state, and finally usurped the government.

Atossa, who, as we learn from Eusebius, was also called Semiramis, was the last descendant of Ninus; and apparently did not resign her crown without a struggle. Agathias says, that the manner, in which Belitaras obtained the government, was extraordinary, and beyond calculation. It may indeed be reasonably believed, that the Assyrian empire experienced a great revolution about this time. Cephalion supposes Perseus to have made war against

Belitaras, whom he calls Belimus; and it is not improbable, that several provinces took the opportunity of throwing off the Assyrian yoke.

According to the catalogue given by Eusebius in his second book, Belitaras must have mounted the throne 551 years before the capture of Nineveh by the Medes under Arbaces. If therefore Polyhistor reckoned the duration of the Assyrian monarchy at 526 years, from the death of Atossa Semiramis to that of Sardanapalus, as it appears he did, his calculation varies by only 25 years from that which is found in the catalogue. (Euseb. Chron. apud Maium p. 241.)

If we now turn to Herodotus, and examine the calculation which he makes, we shall find that the year 520, before the *autonomia* of the Medes, answers to the first year of the reign of Lamprides, the successor of Belitaras, according to the reckoning established by the catalogue already cited. But the time, when the *autonomia* of the Medes commenced, if indeed it really ever existed, must be referred to the

epoch, when Arbaces, by the capture of Nineveh, enabled his countrymen to assert their independence.

It may be asked, however, why it should be supposed that Herodotus limited the rule of the Assyrians over Upper Asia to 520 years if their immense empire had existed previously? Herodotus does not say that the Assyrian empire had existed for no more than 520 years. He merely states that the Assyrians had ruled for that period over Upper Asia, when the Medes revolted.

Now there are several reasons, which might have induced the historian to make this statement. It was his intention to write the history of Assyria; and therefore he seems purposely to have avoided saying more of it in the passage before us than was absolutely necessary. But if it had happened, that an extraordinary and violent revolution had placed a new dynasty on the throne, about 550 years before the death of Sardanapalus—if Assyria, and the whole of Asia, had been convulsed about this period by sanguinary wars—if several king-

doms and provinces took this opportunity of throwing off the Assyrian yoke—if many years elapsed before tranquillity was restored, and before the new dynasty became firmly seated on the throne—and finally if some of the revolted provinces were then recovered to the empire, while others remained for ever detached from it; it might be natural for Herodotus, when about to speak of the revolt of the Medes, to indicate the period, during which the Assyrians had been in undisturbed possession of Upper Asia, of which the kingdom of Media formed a part. Neither was it necessary for the historian to say more. His object was merely to denote the period, that the Upper Asia had been governed without resistance by the Assyrians.

Various circumstances confirm the observations which I have been making. The Greeks represent Perseus, or his son Perses, as a mighty hero, from whom the Persians derived their name. To this idle fable I only call the attention of the reader, because Cephalion, as I have already observed, mentions that Perseus

invaded Assyria, and made war against Belitaras, whom he calls Belimus; and because we may thence understand, that some of the nations, originally conquered by Ninus, endeavoured at this period to wrest the sceptre from the hands of their Assyrian masters. But Cephalion adds, that Perseus was flying from Bacchus the son of Semele, when he attacked Belitaras. The history of the expedition of Bacchus, through Asia to the shores of the Indian Ocean, is nothing else than a mythological romance; but it may be true, that different conquerors overran the east, in the earlier periods of the world, as Genghis Khan and Timur-lang have done in times nearer to our own.

In the list of the Assyrian monarchs, copied by Syncellus from Julius Africanus, Sethos is named as the tenth King after Ninus. The chronology is clearly erroneous; but I cite the statement, because Sethos is mentioned as King of Assyria. Every one knows that Sethos, probably the same as Sesostris, was an Egyptian monarch. According to Manetho, quoted

by Josephus (Contr. Ap. L. 1.), Sethos conquered Phœnicia, Assyria, and Media. Eusebius represents Sethos as contemporary with Lamprides the successor of Belitaras. If, therefore, Sethos reigned over Assyria, he must have obtained possession of the throne during the time of Lamprides; and his reign, even according to Manetho, must have been very short, as he was compelled to return hastily to Egypt to recover the crown, which had been seized by his brother Armais. The reader is aware, that this Sethos is not to be confounded with the successor of Anysis mentioned by Herodotus.

The expedition of Bacchus, and the war carried on by Perseus against the Assyrians, took place, according to Eusebius, during the time of Sethos, or Sesostris. I am much disposed to think, that the fable told of the god may have been founded on the history related of the monarch.

I have no wish, however, to maintain this point against chronologers, who may be inclined to dispute it. I consider the expedition

of Bacchus as a fable, and the history of the conquests of Sesostris as little better; and I consequently attach no great credit to the accuracy of those calculations, from which we are to learn the year, when the son of Semele quitted the regions of the west, to plant the vine on the banks of the Ganges, or when the monarch of Egypt commenced his victorious career, and undertook the conquest of Asia and of the world. I, however, admit it as probable, that Sethos, or Sesostris, may have made a predatory irruption into Asia; that he may have even obtained a temporary possession of the throne of Assyria; and that during this period of war and trouble, various cities and provinces may have asserted their independence.

According to the canon of Eusebius, for I do not wish to take advantage from his catalogue, Belitaras mounted the throne 583 years before the death of Sardanapalus; Lamprides succeeded Belitaras in the year 553 before the same event; and the reign of Sethos in Egypt commenced in the 5th year after the elevation of Lamprides to the throne of Assyria. We

cannot, therefore, according to this canon, well place the conquest of Assyria by Sethos before the 10th year of the reign of Lamprides, 543 years before the death of Sardanapalus. Julius Africanus states the reign of Sethos over Assyria at 32 years; but this writer not only places the æra of this monarch three centuries too soon, but seems not to have been aware that he was King of Egypt. We may, however, conclude, that some years elapsed after the return of Sethos into his own country, before the tranquillity of the Assyrian empire became quite re-established; and as Media had also been subdued by the Egyptians, that country may not have immediately submitted to the dominion of the Assyrians, after the departure of Sethos.

There is upon the whole, therefore, much reason to believe, that, from the time of Atossa Semiramis to the death of Lamprides, the Assyrian empire must have continued in a state nearly approaching to anarchy; oppressed by strangers, and distracted by domestic dissensions; nor is it improbable, that after the de-

parture of Sethos some of the provinces may have revolted against their ancient masters.

Herodotus appears to have marked the epoch, when, according to the information which he had received, the Upper Asia returned under the dominion of the Assyrian monarchs. Whether he were exactly accurate, or not, in fixing this epoch for the year 520 before the revolt of the Medes, is a question which it is now impossible to determine. Profane history affords no certainty in chronology before the Olympiads of Corœbus. It were idle then to waste time in discussing, whether the Halicarnassian historian may not have erred by 20, 30, or 50 years. When we shall know beyond a doubt the time, when Ilium fell, when Sesostris reigned, when Perseus cut off the Gorgon's head, and when Bacchus returned triumphant from India, we shall perhaps be able to fix the precise date, when, after suffering a temporary dissolution, the Assyrian empire again flourished under the descendants of the usurper Belitaras.

Herodotus, whether exactly right, or not, in his calculation, appears merely to have intended

to say, that the Assyrians had been for 520 years in the undisturbed possession of the Upper Asia, when the Medes revolted; but it by no means follows, that he therefore meant to limit the duration of the Assyrian empire to that period. Thus the statement of Herodotus and that of Ctesias seem to be no longer irreconcileable.

# CHAPTER VIII.

*The same subject continued.*

4. We have now, in the fourth place, to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the æra of Ninus. But here again we find a great diversity of opinion; and the commencement of the reign of this Prince has been reckoned by different authors for the years before Christ 2230, 2227, 2174, 2107, 2058, 2027, 1817, and 1780.

According to the chronology most generally received, Abraham was born 1996 years before the Christian æra. Eusebius and Cedrenus fix the birth of this Patriarch for the 43rd year of the reign of Ninus; and consequently they ought to date the commencement of that reign for the year 2039 before Christ; but as Eusebius reckons 2015 years from the birth of Abra-

ham to that of Christ, he of course supposes 2058 years to have elapsed between the time when Ninus mounted the throne and Christ's nativity.

In the canon of Syncellus, the birth of Abraham is reckoned for the first year of the reign of Ninus, or rather for that which preceded it. But according to the chronology of Syncellus, Ninus mounted the throne in the year of the world 3270, and 2230 years before the birth of Christ, which he fixes for the year of the world 5500.

I have already had occasion to remark, that the Greeks have often confounded Ninus with Belus, or Nimrod. This appears to be the case with the chronologers, of whom I have been speaking. But with the exception of the Armenian writers, Moses Chorenensis and Samuel, who generally follow Eusebius, all the Oriental historians and chronographers represent Nimrod as the contemporary and persecutor of Abraham. In the preceding book I have given my reasons for assenting to their opinion.

Abraham quitted the land of Ur about the year 1923 before Christ, and received his call about two years afterwards. Now, (as I have already argued,) the departure of Abraham from Ur may have been in a great degree occasioned by the idolatrous institutions established by Nimrod, when he assumed the title of Bel, which was rather confirmed than given to him by his son Ninus.

Nimrod, or Belus, is said to have reigned during 65 years (Augustin. de civ. Dei. 16. 17.). But the Orientalists pretend that his reign lasted for more than double that period. If we believe their traditions, Abraham was born after Nimrod was seated on the throne; and yet it was by this monarch that the Patriarch was expelled from Chaldea. The latter part of this statement appears not improbable, when stripped of the marvellous additions which have been made to it by Oriental exaggeration.

A century elapsed from the call of Abraham to his death. Chronologers have affixed dates to almost every event, which happened during the life of this Patriarch. Now it may be

inferred with much appearance of probability, that Belus, or Nimrod, was seated on the throne of Chaldea, when Abraham retired from Ur, 1923 years before Christ, not only because this fact is asserted by Oriental tradition, but because it appears from Scripture, that only 7 years afterwards Belus, or Bel, was one of the confederate Kings who invaded Palestine.

The events recorded in the 14th chapter of Genesis seem to me to throw considerable light on the question which is now before us; and I trust I shall be pardoned by the candid reader, if I give a different explanation of this chapter from what I did in a work written some years ago.

Chedarlaomer, King of Elam, accompanied by three confederate, or rather tributary Kings, —Amraphel, King of Shinar—Arioch, King of Ellasar—and Tidal, King of nations—invaded Palestine in the year 1916 before Christ.

Iran, sometimes pronounced Ilan, was known to the ancient Jews by the name of Eilam, or Ilam (עילם); (not Elam, as the English translators have written it, in following the vicious

punctuation of the Masorites.) The King of this country was apparently a great monarch, to whom many Princes were vassals, and whose empire could have been little inferior in extent and population to that afterwards governed by Cyrus. An attentive examination of the subject leads me to believe, that Chedarlaomer was the same with the monarch called Gem-Shid by the Persians. But this question will more properly come under examination, when in another book I shall have to speak of the origin of the Iranian empire.

The name of Chedarlaomer is thus written according to the Masoretic punctuation; and this punctuation is clearly erroneous. The word is written כדר-לעמר in Chaldaic characters; and ought to be pronounced *Choddarlomer*, or better, in aspirating the *ain*, *Choddarloghomer*. The LXX write it Χοδολλογομορ.

It would be unreasonable to expect, that the sacred historian should have employed the exact orthography of foreign names. We find in all languages, that the proper names of one nation are frequently, if not almost always,

changed, when pronounced or written by another. The name of the monarch, of whom we are now speaking, was in fact rather a title than a name. The Sovereigns of the East were accustomed to receive the most pompous appellations from their subjects; and were adored as Gods by their servile flatterers. I think the name in question may still be easily traced to the Persian; and I read it خدا دارا الغ میر *Choda-Dara-Ulugh-Mir*, or خدا داور الغ میر *Choda-Daor-Ulugh-mir*,—*Deus-Rex-Magnus-Dominus*. The title of *Choda* (whence by the way come the German and English words *Got* and *God*,) was so commonly assumed by the ancient Iranian Monarchs, that M. Anquetil du Perron renders it by *King*. The Greek interpreters, who have left out *Dara*, or *Daor*, *King*, or *Sovereign*, have nearly given the Persian pronunciation of *Choda-Ulugh-Mir*, in writing *Chodollogomor*.

The name of the King of Shinar is more easily explained. In the Vulgate, and in the English version, it is written Amraphel. But this name is of Syriac, or Arabic origin; and

the Masorites have pointed it wrongly. I have already shown, (B. 1. C. 11.) that the name *Bel* was frequently corrupted into *Pel, Phel,* &c. Now I can have no doubt, that אמרפל, *Amar-pel,* (not Amraphel,) is equivalent to امير بل *Amir-Bel, Dux Belus.*

As we know that Belus, or Nimrod, was King of Shinar, it seems evident, I think, that he was one of the Kings defeated by Abraham; and that the Orientalists are right in considering this Prince as the contemporary of the Patriarch.

But Belus was at this time a vassal to the great monarch of Iran. If therefore the founder of Babylon not only became an independent sovereign, but achieved the conquest of several neighbouring states, we must suppose his expedition into Palestine to have taken place in the early part of his reign. We have seen from the testimony of various authors, that Ninus was the son of Belus, or Nimrod. The account, consequently, which is given by Diodorus of the conquest of Babylonia by Ninus is utterly improbable, since the son, it is natural to sup-

pose, would succeed to the dominions of his father. It is to Belus himself, that we ought to ascribe this conquest; and there may be reason to think, that the same Prince obtained possession of the whole territory of Shinar, on agreeing to become a vassal to the Persian monarch. The descendants of Shem, in the line of Arphaxad, inhabited a part of Shinar; and Nimrod appears to have been nominated King by the Sovereign of Iran, for the purpose of subjugating the Shemites of the line of Eber, and of obliging them to pay an annual tribute. I make this inference from the statement of Philo Judæus, who calls Nimrod a deserter, and intimates that this Prince acquired his kingdom by abandoning his friends, and going over to the enemy. (Phil. Jud. p. 128.)

It appears, however, from the Persian historians, (if credit can be given to their reports,) that Nimrod rebelled against the King of Iran, and drove that monarch from his throne. The first expedition against Persia, attributed by Diodorus to Ninus, may have been conducted by Nimrod.

There is much probability then in the supposition, that the expedition against Palestine under Chedarlaomer, was undertaken early in the reign of Belus. The discomfiture of the army of the Great King in Syria, may have aided the ambitious vassal to throw off the yoke, and finally to menace the throne of his legitimate Sovereign.

It may be objected to me, that this supposition cannot be admitted, because we are told in the Book of Genesis (c. xiv. 17.) of the return of Abraham from the *slaughter* of Chedarlaomer, and of the Kings who were with him. But the word *slaughter* does not give the sense of the word in the Hebrew original. I would translate מהכות *from the smiting*—the literal sense is, *from the bruising*. It cannot therefore be inferred from this passage, that the Kings were killed in the battle. The phrase only means that they were completely defeated, or, as we may say in English, completely beaten, without therefore understanding that they were slain.

But to return to the subject. The departure of Abraham from Ur probably took place early in the reign of Belus; and we may accordingly suppose this monarch to have mounted the throne in the year 1923 before Christ. Augustin and Jerom fix the duration of his reign at 65 years. Consequently Ninus, his son, did not begin to reign, until the year 1858 before our æra. I find, however, that, according to Polyhistor, Euechios, as he calls Nimrod, reigned during 4 *neroi;* but this is clearly an error for 4 *saroi,* which would give 72 years for the reign of this monarch. In this case we must reckon the first year of Ninus for the year 1851 before Christ; and the authority of Polyhistor, (upon this point,) is preferable to that of the two fathers. But Nineveh was taken by the Medes under Arbaces 747 years before the Christian æra. Consequently 1104 years elapsed from the commencement of the reign of Ninus, to the dissolution of the Assyrian empire under Sardanapalus.

If then we reckon 33 reigns after Belus, this calculation will give us at an average 33 years, and nearly 6 months, for each reign.

But the foundation of the Assyrian empire is to be attributed to Belus and not to Ninus; nor are we to forget, that Assyria is called in Scripture the land of Nimrod. The name of the mighty robber is not to be obliterated, because the heir of his fortunes and of his crimes became more celebrated than himself. If the glory of the son has surpassed, it has not totally eclipsed, that of his father. If the former built Nineveh, the latter founded Babylon. If Ninus drove the Great King beyond the Oxus, and usurped the first throne of Asia and of the world; Belus had already established a powerful Kingdom, and had wrested from the Iranian monarch some of the fairest provinces of his enfeebled empire. If Asia remembered Ninus as a conqueror, the whole heathen world continued to venerate Belus as a God. The armies of the former spread the terror of his name from the Nile to the Indus; but the institutions of the latter indicate that, though a

tyrant, he was also a legislator. All the Princes of western Asia bowed the head, and bent the knee, before Ninus; but the court of Belus was thronged by the sages of Egypt and of the East; and the first seeds of science were sown by a robber on the banks of the Euphrates. (Diodor. Sicul. L. 1.)

I cannot, therefore, consent to exclude the reign of Belus, in estimating the duration of the Assyrian empire. It remains, however, for the reader to decide for himself what may have been the length of the period, which elapsed from the epoch when this monarch mounted the throne to the death of Sardanapalus. I have stated to him, as clearly as I could, the evidence which we possess. From this evidence no certain result, as far as I can judge, can be possibly obtained; but after allowing 72 years, on the authority of Polyhistor, for the reign of Belus, I would reckon 1104 years as the probable duration of the reigns of his 33 successors. I acknowledge, that this calculation exceeds by 16 years, and 6 months, the period assigned by the theoretical rule, which I have

had occasion to mention. This difference, however, in so long a term of years cannot be considered as of much importance; but I again repeat, that after having stated what appears most probable to myself, I must still leave it to others to form their own judgment on this chronological question.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Observations on the reign of Ninyas.*

NINYAS reigned, from the Nile to the Indus, over the fairest portion of Asia. This Prince, as I have already remarked, has been represented as weak and effeminate, as the votary of pleasure, and as the slave of his passions; but the monarch, who first organised a regular system of despotism, which subsisted for many centuries, and which has been, more, or less, the model of almost all the Oriental Governments since his time, could hardly have passed his life in sloth and inaction. However we may hate his principles, we can scarcely deny, that he possessed considerable energy of character, and much skill in the art of governing mankind. The more indeed we

consider the institutions of Ninyas, the more we shall be convinced of the crafty policy of this sovereign, in combining the means by which a hundred Provinces became devoted to the will, and obedient to the authority, of a single individual. His predecessors had conquered thrones, and subdued nations, but the successor of Semiramis knew how to wield the sceptre of the despot, without unsheathing the sword of the warrior.

Despotism is founded upon fear. The fear, with which a tyrant inspires his subjects, can only be long maintained by keeping them in a state of ignorance and disunion. Ninyas was the first monarch, who reduced this system into practice.

In Assyria, as well as in other Oriental countries, the sacerdotal and military classes were entirely separated in ancient times from the rest of the community. Professions were hereditary. The son of the agriculturist, of the merchant, or of the artizan, had no choice but to follow the profession, and to learn the occupation, of his father; nor was it in the power of

any one to change the condition of life, to which fortune had destined him from his birth.

The Priests were paid by the people, and were protected by the monarch. They owed the institution of their order to Belus; and they trusted to his successors for its maintenance. Exempt from all taxes; free from every public burthen; and living, by the will of the Prince, at the expence of his subjects, they naturally considered the priesthood as dependent on the monarchy, an dthe interests of the altar as inseparably connected with those of the throne. The cultivation of letters was permitted to their order alone; they only might dwell within the sacred precincts of their temples; and they lived in the recesses of their colleges, secluded from the rest of mankind, except when, in the exercise of their functions, they declared the will of the Gods to the credulous multitude.

Thus separated from the rest of the Assyrians by education, and by interest, the priests of Belus had no feelings in common with their countrymen. It appears from the Book of Daniel, that at Babylon they even depended

on the monarch for their daily nourishment. They no doubt possessed great influence in the state, and were the usual advisers of the King; but they were, not less than the meanest slaves of the palace, exposed to suffer from the cruel and capricious vengeance of their master. Nebuchadnezzar menaced the *Khesadin* with total destruction, because they could not recal to the recollection of the tyrant the dream which he had forgotten.

If the priests obtained power, they acquired it by their influence with the sovereign, and not with the people. No Despot, however ferocious, would have ventured to order the destruction of a whole race of men, who were not generally feared and detested as the instruments of his tyranny, and as the slaves of his will.

It has been always chiefly by their military power, that monarchs have established and maintained the absolute authority which they have often abused. But an army, the most terrible instrument of despotism, when employed by a Prince against his people, sometimes

avenges the cause of justice and humanity on the tyrant, who has been enabled by its means to outrage both.

The military arrangements, which were made by Ninyas, evince his cautious and artful policy. Each province furnished every year a fresh body of troops, which remained encamped round the capital, until the expiration of the year. The camp was then broken up; and the troops, who made room for their successors, were marched back into the provinces. Thus a double object was obtained. The monarch had always a numerous army at his command, and under his immediate inspection; and it was scarcely possible for the military chiefs, who were brought together from different regions, and who spoke different languages, to form, in the short period of a year, any secret combination, much less any open conspiracy, against the interests of the government. The army round the capital kept the whole empire in awe. Detachments from this army might always be sent to the most distant provinces to quell rebellion, or to punish sedition; nor was

the will of the monarch likely to be disputed in a camp, where strangers still met strangers, and where rank and promotion could only be obtained by the favour of the Prince. The greatest danger to be apprehended for the safety of the throne, could alone arise from the combinations of the military commanders. This danger might still be considered as distant, while the army was composed of many different nations, and was annually dissolved, and annually renewed. The crafty despot was well aware, that little union, or confidence, was likely to exist between the Bactrian and the Babylonian, or between the polished Syrian and the barbarian of Mount Caucasus. But even the possibility of combination was to be avoided; and when the services of the year were terminated, the military chiefs separated, probably to meet no more.

The existence of an hereditary nobility was unknown among the Assyrians. The governors of provinces and cities, as well as the commanders of armies, were chosen from among the most devoted slaves of the monarch. Dig-

nity, rank, and wealth, depended on his nod. Disgrace and ruin were the inevitable consequences of his displeasure.

It is in vain that the Greeks have reproached Ninyas for giving up his life to indolence and debauchery. Another and a more probable motive may be assigned for the secluded manner in which he passed his time. This Prince had not been distinguished by any military renown; and he suddenly saw himself, when well advanced in life, at the head of a vast empire, without possessing the warlike character, which had enabled his ancestors to unite so many different nations under their dominion. Mankind are dazzled by the brilliant qualities of the hero; they bow without repugnance before the idol of glory; and easily submit to the monarch, whose head is crowned with the laurels of victory. But Ninyas was satisfied with the extent of his empire. He wished to live in tranquillity, and to reign in security. He could throw no illusion round the throne, by the splendour of such a name as each of his parents had borne; but the son of Ninus and

Semiramis felt, that though the heir to their dominions could not become the rival of their fame, he might yet be the successor to their power. If mankind be easily dazzled by glory, they are not less easily duped by mystery. The life and actions of Ninyas were enveloped in obscurity. Inaccessible to strangers; communicating only in private with the chiefs of the state and of the army; and surrounded during his hours of relaxation by eunuchs and concubines; the great monarch of Assyria seldom, or perhaps never, showed himself in public. The fears, the ignorance, and the superstition, of the people, probably guided by the artifices of the priests, soon elevated the invisible Prince to the rank of a God; and we find few of the successors of Ninyas, whose names do not import, that those who had borne them had been admitted to the honours of the apotheosis.

But while, as the friends of rational liberty, we must detest the monstrous system of government, which puts the lives and fortunes of many millions of individuals in the power of one, we must be careful not to deviate from the strict-

ness of truth, nor to exaggerate even the evils which result from despotism. The religion taught in the Koran prevents the Mahometan monarchs of the East from now usurping the titles and honours of Divinities; but in other respects the governments of modern Asia sufficiently resemble that which was established in Assyria by the son of Ninus and Semiramis. In examining these governments with attention, we shall probably find, that the arbitrary power of the Princes of Asia has been exaggerated beyond the truth in most of the books of travellers and strangers.

Two strong feelings have always agitated, in a greater or less degree, the state of human society—the desire to possess power, and the desire to resist it. The struggle between these feelings necessarily exists under every form of government; nor can the most imperious despotism, though it may intimidate and subdue, ever entirely eradicate and destroy the spirit of opposition. We hear of Asiatic despots, who, in the mere wantonness of their moody cruelty, command human beings to be butchered before

them; and we are thence apt to infer, that there is no restraint on their will, and no limit to their power. But this is an error into which Europeans have generally fallen, from their imperfect acquaintance with the laws, usages, and manners of eastern nations. It is generally among his ministers, his slaves, and his favourites, that the Asiatic tyrant seeks for his victims. He seldom ventures beyond the sphere of his Court to murder or to spoliate; and while the floors of the imperial residence are purpled with the blood of his officers, his vizirs, and his concubines, he would pause, ere he unjustly deprived the meanest citizen of his property, or of his life. The man, who passes within the gates of the palace, leaves behind him the sympathy of his fellow-subjects. They know that ambition has guided his steps to the foot of the throne; and that he has bound himself to obey the will, in order to share the power, of his master. They, therefore, hear with indifference of his disgrace, his exile, or his death; but let a sovereign violate the laws of justice, in depriving a private and unoffending

citizen of his liberty, or of his life, and he will learn to his peril in the East, as well as in the West, that no King can be secure on his throne, where no subject is safe in his house. The power of the most despotic monarch must always find its limit at last in public opinion.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

# ORIGINES.

## BOOK III.

### ON THE ORIGIN OF THE EMPIRE OF IRAN.

### CHAPTER I.

*Of the geographical situation of Iran.*

THE mighty empire, which was called by the Greeks the empire of the Medes and Persians, was unknown by that name to the inhabitants of the countries which lie beyond the Tigris. By them it was denominated the empire, or kingdom, of Iran.

The Iranian historians represent their monarchy as the most ancient and as the most powerful of the world. It is enough to say at present of their claims to antiquity, that they

rival those of the Hindus themselves. These historians assign to their first Kings the sovereignty of the whole of Asia, excepting India; and they suppose this vast continent, with the same exception, to have been divided into three parts, which they call Turan, Iran, and Magrab.

By Turan, a name unknown to the Greeks, the Persians appear to have indicated the whole of Tartary, and even of China, including Tibet.

By Magrab the Persians seem to have understood the countries, which are situate to the westward of Iran; and probably also the whole of Asia Minor.

Persia (or Iran), says Chardin, is the greatest empire of the world, when considered in relation to the geographical descriptions of the Persians, because they represent it according to its ancient boundaries, which are four great seas, the Black sea, the Red sea, the Caspian sea, and the Persian gulph; and six rivers almost as famous as the seas, the Euphrates, the Araxes, the Tigris, the Phasis, the Oxus, and

the Indus. There are some errors here. The Euphrates and, the Tigris could not be *both* boundaries to Iran, except where their streams are united in one channel. By the Red sea Chardin probably meant the Erythræan sea, or the Indian Ocean. But although *Mare Erythræum* and *Mare Rubrum* literally bear the same signification; yet geographers always understand the Persian Gulph, and that part of the Indian Ocean which is adjacent to Persia, by the former, and the Arabian Gulph, the *Yam Suph* of the Hebrews, by the latter.

In the geographical descriptions, which the Persians themselves have given of their country, they have generally much exaggerated its extent. Thus Hamdullah supposes Iran to have extended towards the west and north to Syria, to the Black sea, and to the frontiers of Muscovy. Now neither Media, nor Assyria, nor Armenia, nor Colchis, though long subject to Iran, can be properly considered as forming a part of that country.

It is true that the Greeks believed that the Medes were anciently and universally called

*Arii.* Thus Herodotus says, οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ..... ἐκαλέοντο πάλαι πρὸς πάντων Ἄριοι. The Greeks likewise fancied, as appears from Apollodorus and Pausanias, that the name of the country had been changed from Aria to Media, in honour of Medea, the celebrated enchantress. But it is not easy to conjecture, what connexion Medea, or her son Medus, had with the Medes, who were at that period subjects of the Assyrian monarchy. With regard to the name of *Arii*, which Herodotus says the Medes anciently bore, there can be no reason to question the assertion of the father of history. We know that one of the principal cities of Media was called *Hara.* (1 Chron. v. 26.) This appellation was probably given to it from its being situated in a mountainous district; and the Medes, whose country was full of mountains, may have been generally designated *Harin*, or *Haria*, mountaineers, by the Chaldeans, and perhaps by themselves. We must however be careful not to confound them with the inhabitants of *Aria*, though this Iranian province may have received the same name, which appears to have been anciently given at

least to part of Media. The reason was probably the same. But the Medes were originally a distinct people from the Iranians; and were descendants of Japhet, through his son Madai, whose name they adopted; whereas the Persians were sprung from Shem in the line of Elam. (Joseph. Antiq. Jud. L. 1. C. 7.)

In consequence of the observations, which I have just been making, I shall only enumerate as provinces of Iran proper, those countries which the Greeks and Romans have taught us to call Parthia, Susiana, Elymais, Persis, Carmania, Gedrosia, Dranghiana, Arachosia, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Margiana, Hyrcania, and Aria.

1. Although I have mentioned Parthia as a province of Iran, I am yet in doubt, whether the Parthians can be properly considered as Iranians. If indeed we believe Isidorus, (Orig. 9. 2.) they were of Scythian origin, and their name indicated them to have been exiles. Their country was bounded on the north by Hyrcania, on the west by Media, on the south by Carmania, and on the east by Aria.

2. According to some writers, the name of Susiana is derived from the word *susan*, a lily. Stephanus says that Susa, the capital of the Province, was so called from the lilies with which the country in its neighbourhood abounded; and he adds, σοῦσάν τε αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν οἱ Βάρβαροι, *the Barbarians call a lily, susa.* In fact we find, that *susan* bears this sense in Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian; and in the book of Daniel Susa is denominated Susan. But there may be reason to think that Susa is a corruption from the original name.

Other authors have supposed the name of Susa to be derived from the Hebrew word סוּס *sos*, or *sus*, a horse. These authors would have done better to take the word *sosia*, which likewise signifies a horse in Pehlvi, as the immediate etymon. It cannot be denied that this etymology is at least as probable as that which traces the name of Persia to the Arabic word فرس *phars*, a horse. If we believe the Greek historians, Herodotus and Xenophon, the Persians were celebrated equestrians. Xenophon however acknowledges, (Cyropæd. L. 1.) that

there were very few horses in Persia, and that from the nature of the country there could not be many. It was perhaps because they were so rare, that horses were so much valued in Persia.

Herodotus (L. 5. 54.) calls Susa a Memnonian city; and according to Strabo (L. 15.) it was founded by Memnon. But Memnon, as we learn from the Greeks, was a King of Ethiopia, who was sent by Teutamus King of Assyria to the assistance of Priam. I can only understand this strange story by supposing that the Prince, who was sent to Troy by Teutamus, bore a name resembling that of Memnon, and that he was called King of Cush, or Khus, by the Asiatics. But the Greeks and Romans seem generally to have understood Ethiopia by Cush, and were not aware that by this last name several different countries were indicated. Of the truth of this remark the Greek and Latin versions of the sacred writings afford many examples; and hence, in the instance before us, a King, or rather a Vice-King, of Cush may have been mistaken for an Ethiopian monarch.

It is probable then, that Susa was built by the Cushites, by whom the country round it appears to have been peopled from a very early period. Susiana is even at the present day generally known to the Persians by the name of Khusistan, or the land of Khus, or of Cush. Herodotus says that the country round Susa was named *Κισσίη*; and Stephanus observes that the *Susii* were also called *Kisii*. According to Ptolemy the Susii were the same as the *Cossæi*. I am much inclined to think, that *Susa* is a corruption for *Khus*, or *Khusa*; and that the *Susii* were originally *Cushi*, or *Cushites*.

If these observations be well founded, it follows that the inhabitants of Susiana had a different origin from the Iranians. We find them variously named by different authors *Cossæi*, *Cussæi*, and *Cuthæi*. They were probably then the same with the Parthians their neighbours, and like them exiles, or at least wanderers from Scythia. Certain it is that we find traces of this race both to the west and to the east of the Caspian sea.

Thus Circassia, called *Kher-Kes* by the Turks,

may have originally signified the mountain of *Cas*, which may be variously sounded and written, Cos, Cus, Cush. The celebrated chain of mountains, which we call *Caucasus*, was probably originally sounded *Koh-Cas*, or *Koh-Cos*, the mountain of *Cas*, *Cos*, or *Cush*. Ptolemy speaks (L. 6. 15.) of a country of Scythia named Casia, beyond Sogdiana, and adjacent to the region inhabited by the *Sacæ*. This was probably the country now called Kashgar. *Sak*, or *sag*, in Persian signifies *a dog*; and this was the common and contemptuous appellation which the Persian gave to the rude and unpolished Scythian. Perhaps the modern *Cos-Sacks* are not aware of the original signification of their name. We may however believe that they are sprung from the *Cossæi*.

3. Elymais was separated from Susiana by the river Eulæus, now called the Karun; and extended along the coast of the Erythræan sea to the river Oroatis, which is denominated the Tab by the modern Persians; or perhaps even to the mountains beyond it.

According to the Vulgate Chedarlaomer was

King of Elymais; but it is little likely that the King of so small a country as Elymais should have had at one time under his authority not less than eight tributary monarchs. Besides it seems clear, from various passages in the sacred writings, that by Elam, or rather Eilam, or Ilam, the Hebrews always understood Iran.

Josephus (L. 1. 7.) pretends that the Persians derived their origin from Elymos and the Elymæi. But Josephus has changed Eilam into Elymos without the shadow of an authority for so doing. The inhabitants of Elymais were not descended from Elam. They were Cushites. Thus Pliny (L. 6. 27.) says, *Susianis ab oriente proximi sunt Cossæi.* Ptolemy makes a similar statement. Stephanus seems to have considered Elymais as a part of Persis; and he gives it the name of *Kossea.* The ancient Elymais is comprehended, according to the Persians, in the Province of Khusistan.

It indeed appears to me doubtful, whether Elymais should not rather be reckoned as a district of Susiana, than as a separate province. Quintus Curtius says, *omni hac regione vastata,*

*tertio die in Persidem, quinto angustias, quas illi Susidas pylas intrat.* This author, therefore, seems to have considered Susiana as contiguous to Persis. The narrow valley in question seems to have been formed between the rocks of the mountainous district of Dinar. Strabo and Arrian call these defiles the *Persian Gates* —τὰς πύλας τὰς Περσίδας. Now I am disposed to think, that the small district of Elymais, which separated Susiana from Persis, was so called from these Gates. In modern Persian الميّ *elmi* signifies a *gate-post*, and in the plural the word takes the form of الميها *elmiha*. The Greeks have variously written the word *Elymais*, *Elymai*, and *Elymæa;* and it is more likely that these corrupted names of the district should be derived from the Persian than from any other language.

4. The country now called Pharsistan ought to be the same, if we could trust to names, with that which the Greeks called Persis. In this region we find the genuine race of Iranians. It was here that was built by the monarchs of Iran the magnificent city of Istachar, which the

Greeks have made known to Europe by the name of Persepolis.

This city, according to the general opinion of the Persians, was founded by Gem-Shid. Its celebrated ruins still excite the admiration of travellers; while the cuneiform characters engraved on its walls remain unintelligible to antiquarians. The learned and laborious Sacy has explained some of the inscriptions which are of later date; but these are of little interest, when compared with those which may be referred to the more early ages of the Persian monarchy.

The meaning and etymology of the name of Istachar seem to be yet unknown to Oriental scholars. Some read it استخر *istachr*, which signifies a lake, or pool of water; but I think it impossible that this can be the orthography of the name. Hyde writes اصطخر *istachr*, and translates this word *rupe desumtum, seu rupe constans saxeum palatium*; but the learned author confesses, that the name which he produces is Arabic, and written according to Arabic orthography. It is in the Persian lan-

guage, and not in the Arabic, that we ought to seek for the name of the ancient Capital of Persia.

We know the name of Istachar from the modern Persians; and there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that they neither pronounce nor write it correctly. The Romans took the name of Vesta from the ἑστία of the Greeks; and changed, as in other examples, the aspirate for the Æolic digamma. But the Greeks had obtained the word ἑστία from the Orientalists. *Esta*, in Syriac and in Syro-Chaldaic, signifies fire; and there is reason to think that this word bore the same meaning, and was in use among the ancient Persians. According to Xenophon (*Κυρ. Παιδ.* L. 1. 6.) *Hestia* was one of the Deities adored by Cyrus; and this historian, who must have had some acquaintance with the eastern languages, would hardly have mentioned this word, if he had not known that the Persians worshipped fire under the name of *Hestia*, *Estia*, or *Esta*. Procopius, speaking of the Persians as worshippers of fire, says (L. 1. 24.) this is the fire which the Romans called

*Hestia*, and worshipped in ancient times. Herodotus (L. 4. 59.) informs us, that the Scythians adored *Hestia*, and that they had changed the name into *Tabiti*. But I suspect this to be a mere illustration of the word *esta;* as there can be little doubt, that the name which Herodotus writes *Tabiti* is the same with the Persian word تابش *tabish*, which signifies heat, or fire. The Capital of Persia may have been originally a *pyreum;* and its name may have been استا خور *Ista-chur*, or *Esta-chur*, *ignis Solis*. Shahristan mentions a *pyreum* named *Adur-chur*, which likewise signifies the fire of the Sun.

In this Province was situated the city of the *Pasargadæ*, whose name has been sometimes confounded with that of the *Parsagadæ*. Herodotus, after having enumerated several tribes of the Persians, adds, τουτέων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. *Of these the Pasargadæ are the most noble; and among them is the tribe of the Achæmenidæ, from whom are sprung the Persian Kings* (*L.* 1. 125.). The Greeks fancied Achæmenes to have been the

name of the progenitor of Cyrus; but *achæmenes* is nothing else than a corruption of one of those pompous and impious titles, which were assumed by the Kings of Iran, and of which the inscriptions explained by M. de Sacy afford many examples. *Achæmenes*, as I have shown elsewhere, signifies *Rex cœli* in ancient Persian; and even in the modern dialect of the Persians, اغا مینا *Agha mina* signifies *Dominus cœli*. *Pasargada* is not less evidently a corruption for پسر خدا *Pasar Khoda, filius Dei.*

5. Carmania, called Kerman by the modern Persians, is generally speaking a mere desert. A few spots however are said to afford excellent pasture for cattle and sheep.

6. The Gedrosii appear to have inhabited the countries now called Mekran, Malan, and Monaro. Their principal city was situated on the river *Arbis*, if we believe Strabo and Stephanus; but it may well be questioned whether such a name were ever known to the Persians. It appears to me, that the country, in which the city of the Gedrosii was built, was called *Artabisha* in Persian. Marcianus writes the name

*Artabis;* and this name must have indicated the country and not the river, since *arta bishah* in Persian signifies a great wilderness, or forest. But the Greeks seem to have had very indistinct ideas concerning this country. Ptolemy calls the metropolis of the Gedrosii Ἄσις, *Easis*, which resembles no Persian word applicable to the place. According to Arrian, the region, in which the royal residence was situated, was denominated *Pura.* It appears however, from Malcolm's map, that the river, which Strabo calls Arbis, is named *Pureh* by the modern Persians.

7. Drangiana, written Δραγγιανὴ by Ptolemy, seems to have been the country now named Afghanistan. The greater part of this region is an absolute desert. A few fertile spots, however, are found on the banks of the river, which was called Etymander by the Greeks, and which is now variously named Helmund, Hirmund, and Hindmend, by the Persians.

8. The country, which is situated to the north-east of Drangiana, was called Arachosia,

and its inhabitants Arachoti, by the Greeks (Strabo L. 15.). This was probably the same region which is now called Kandahar. Pliny says, *Arachosia cum oppido et flumine ejusdem nominis, quod quidam Cophen dixere, et Semiramide conditum.* Stephanus speaks nearly to the same purpose. *The city Arachosia,* says he, *which was also called Kophen, is not far distant from the country of the Massagetæ, and was founded by Semiramis*—*Ἀραχωσία πόλις, οὐκ ἄποθεν Μασσαγετῶν, ὑπὸ Σεμιράμεος κτισθεῖσα, ἥ τις καὶ Κωφὴν ἐκαλεῖτο.* It seems difficult then to understand the meaning of Josephus, when he says the descendants of Joctan dwelt *ἀπὸ Κώφηνος ποταμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦ Συρίας* (*lege* *Ἀρίας*) *τινὰ*—*from Kophen a river of India, and certain districts of Aria near it.*

But as it has been shown, that the river Kophen flowed through the Province of Arachosia, and as this river is 250 miles to the west of the Indus, and nearly as far south-east from Aria, the assertion of Josephus requires explanation. The Greeks and Romans generally considered the river Indus as forming the

western boundary of India (Arrian L, 5. 4. Diodor. Sicul. L. 2.). But Pliny has the following passage: *Plerique ab occidente non Indo amne determinant, sed adjiciunt quatuor Satrapias, Gedrosos, Arachotas, Arios, Paropamisadas, ultimo fine Cophete fluvio, quæ omnia Ariorum esse aliis placet* (L. 6. 20.). This passage throws much light on the words of Josephus; but I shall add a few remarks.

The river of Arachosia, or the Cophen, appears to be the same with that now called the Organdah. This stream, like the Etymander, has its source among the mountains, which are named *Hindu Khush*. With regard to the Etymander, I observe that its modern name is written not only Heirmund, and Helmund, but Hindmend; and I consider this last name as the least corrupt of the three. The river appears to have been originally called *Ma-Hind*, Black water, or water of *Hind*; and afterwards to have been named by tautology *Hind-Ma-Hind*, which has been corrupted into Hindmend.

Several Provinces to the west of the Indus

are included by the Oriental geographers in the country which they denominate India, Hind, or Hend. According to D'Herbelot they reckon Segistan as an Indian Province, and they must consequently consider the Organdah and the Hindmend as Indian rivers. Thus Josephus seems to be perfectly justified by the authority of the Orientalists, in calling the Cophen, the modern Organdah, a river of India.

We have seen from Pliny, that the Arachotæ were reckoned among the *Arii* by some writers of antiquity. I confess I very much suspect, that *Aria* is a name derived from the Hebrew or Chaldaic, הר *har*, or הרא *hara*, a mountain: In the Province, anciently called *Aria*, there still exists a very mountainous district known by the name of *Harat*. We find the Hebrew word written הרה *harah*, in the Book of Genesis (xii. 8.); and this would make *haraoth*, *montes*, in the plural. It may then well have happened, that the descendants of Shem gave the name of *Hara*, or *Harat*, to the hilly regions of Persia; and the soft aspirate ה, being

afterwards dropped in many examples, these regions were called *Aria*, *Ariana*, and *Ara*. But the most remarkable thing, which arises out of this enquiry is, that we again find evident traces of the Cushites to the eastward of the river Hindmend. Thus *Arachosia* seems to have been originally named the mountains of the Cossæi, or Cushites. The lofty mountains, which divide Kabul from the country of Balkh, are called by the modern Persians *Hindu-Khush*, Indian Cush; though the name would be better written *Hindu-Koh-Khush*. In fact this range of mountains may be safely termed, as indeed it generally is, the Indian Caucasus. The city called *Khisim*, or *Ghisim*, is situated about 100 miles to the south of Kabul; and Khisim sounds very like Cushim, the Hebrew for Cushites. Other cities, such as *Ketta*, *Kueshta*, *Chuteh*, still recal the Cuthæi or Cushites to our recollection.

We have seen from Stephanus and Pliny, that tradition attributed the foundation of the city of Cophen to Semiramis. This circumstance tends to confirm the opinion, that Ara-

chosia had been inhabited from a very remote period by a colony of Cushites.

9. Bactria, or Bactriana, was bounded by Margiana, now called Mirigian, on the west; by the Oxus, now called the Gihon, on the north; by part of Scythia, the modern Tartary, on the east; and by the mountains of Paropamisus, the Indian Caucasus, on the south.

The Capital of this Province was called Bactra by the Greeks; but Balkh is the name by which it is generally known to the Orientalists. According to Hyde, these last frequently call it Balkh-Bokhara; and he thinks that the Greeks changed Bokhara into Bactra (p. 493.). This conjecture is at least plausible.

Strabo (L. 15.) and Pliny (L. 6.) inform us, that Bactra was also called *Zariaspa*. Hyde proposes to read *Lariaspa*, or *Laraspa*, for *Zariaspa*; because the city, he thinks, received its name from Lohrasp, the father of Gushtasp, (the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks,) who was its founder, and who erected there a celebrated *Pyreum*. This emendation is ingenious; but I question its accuracy. The Persian historians,

as D'Herbelot observes, consider Kaiomarth, the first King of the Peshdadian dynasty, (and not Lohrasp,) as the founder of the city of Balkh; and it is besides to be remembered that, according to Diodorus Siculus, Ninus besieged and took Bactra, thirteen centuries at least before the time of Lohrasp. Hyde says, that Gushtasp, as well as Lohrasp, built a *pyreum* at Balkh. The *pyreum* of Gushtasp was named *Azur Gushtasp.* (Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 303.)

In order to give the true reading for *Zariaspa*, it is necessary to examine the names of *Lohrasp* and *Gushtasp*, written لهراسپ and گشتاسپ by the modern Persians. In both these names it is clear that the last syllable, *asp*, signifies a horse. I have seen no explanation of *Lohrasp;* but Hyde gives us the following etymologies of *Gushtasp. Si eisdem litteris et diversis vocalibus sonaretur Gheshtasp satis aptè significaret factus equo, cum ex equi hinnitu factus fuerit rex. Sed tacitâ illâ historiâ, Persæ constanter ejus nomen sonant Ghushtasp, quod duplicem significationem habere dicitur: sive enim scribatur* گوشاسپ *Gush-*

*asp, sive* گشتاسپ *Ghushtasp, in libro Ph. Gj. exponitur* رویا (*ruya*) *somnium, seu* احتلام (*ihtilam*) *somniatio; atque in eodem libro idem alias exponitur* جهنده خیزه کننده *saltabundus et se erigens: &c.*

I have some objections to make to this passage. When the learned author wrote گشتاسپ *Gheshtasp*, and translated *factus equo*, he must have understood گشت *ghesht* to be the contracted participle preterite from گشتن *gheshtan, fieri.* But *ghesht* is the third person singular of the preterite tense; and *ghesht asp* would signify, not *factus equo*, but *factus est equus;* if indeed even this derivation be strictly grammatical. The explanation given by the Arab writer appears very singular; nor can I possibly conceive what the Arabic words *ruya* a dream, and *ihtilan* sleep, can have to do with the Persian name of *Gushtasp.*

The three Persian words جهنده, خیزه, کننده, are strangely written, and strangely explained. The first of these words was probably meant for جهانیده, the preterite participle of the verb *gehanidan*, to attack, to assault. The third word, as it is written here, signifies a mattock,

or spade; but this must be an error of the press. Thus the only one of these three words, which bears any resemblance to the translation, is خیزہ *khizeh*, which is the participle preterite of *khizan, to leap.* It is surprising that Hyde, who was so well skilled both in Persian and in Arabic, should have admitted such glaring errors as these, which, in a work so profound and learned as his, must be attributed to negligence, and not to ignorance.

The veneration of the Persians for the horse, which was consecrated to the Sun, may account for the names assumed by Lohrasp and Gushtasp. Each of these monarchs took the name of *Asp*, which signifies *horse;* and they were distinguished from each other, by the words *Lohr*, and *Gusht*, which were probably written and pronounced differently by the ancient Persians.

We learn from Herodotus (L. 1.) and Xenophon (Cyr. Pæd. L. 8.) that the Persians sacrificed horses to the Sun; but it is remarkable, that the latter historian, in describing the Pomp of Cyrus, if I may so call it, has neglected to

mention, that one horse in particular was called the horse of the Sun. Quintus Curtius is more exact. After having told us that, in the procession of Darius, the chariot sacred to Jove was drawn by white horses, he adds: *hos eximiæ magnitudinis equus, quem Solis appellabant, sequebatur.* There was therefore only one horse, which was dedicated to the Sun, and which was considered as the emblem of that luminary. Dio Chrysostom, cited by Hyde, says nearly the same thing. The two Kings, of whom I have been speaking, probably assumed the name of *Asp* in honour of the Sun; and because the horse was considered as sacred to that luminary, and perhaps was regarded as a Solar symbol, each of the two *pyrea* at Balkh might have been called ازر اسپ *Azar-Asp, ignis equi.* But this name having been given to the city, where the two *pyrea* stood, the Greeks might have easily corrupted *Azar-Asp* into *Zariaspa.* Strabo (L. 15.) says that Ἀδράψα *Adrapsa* was a city of Bactriana. The difference between *Adar-asp* and *Azar-asp* is merely dialectical.

Balkh was for many ages the principal residence of the Magi. It was consequently the early and the favourite seat of Science; and even in later times, when Philosophy had fled from the banks of the Ganges; when Babylon had fallen; and when Memphis was no more; Balkh afforded a last retreat to the Oriental Muses.

The doctrines of the Magi were spread over the greater part of Asia. It may even be thought that many of their institutions existed among the Celts of Europe; nor perhaps should we greatly err, if we called the Druids the Magi of the west.

Those, who are disposed to compare the superstitions of the Magi with those of the Druids, will remark that بلخ *Balkh* signifies an oak, the tree venerated as sacred by the Druids.

10. It appears that the ancient Sogdiana was bounded on the south by the Oxus, and on the north by the Jaxartes, now called the Sihon. Q. Curtius has mistaken this last river for the Tanais, as indeed Alexander the Great had

done before him. (Q. Curt. L. 6 & 7. Plin. 6. 16.)

According to Ptolemy Δρέψα *Drepsa* was the metropolis of Sogdiana. I imagine the Persian name was درهٔ اسپ *Darah-asp*, the valley of the horse. Many places in Persia were named from this favourite animal. Thus the river in Persia proper which the Greeks named Χόασπις *Choaspis*, was probably sounded in Persian خو اسپ *Kho-asp*, *fluvius equi*.

Arrian (3. 30.) calls Μαράκανδα *Maracanda*, the royal Palace of Sogdiana. This Maracanda was probably the same city, which the Persians now call Samarkand. The Arabian writers, who have been generally followed by the Europeans, and even by the modern Persians, pretend that Samarkand, Kandahar, and many other towns were founded by Alexander the Great, and that the names of these towns are corruptions from Eskander, the name by which the Orientalists know the Macedonian monarch. That several cities to the east of the Tigris were founded by Alexander, and were called after him, I can easily believe; but if we give credit

to the eastern historians, Eskander must have founded more cities than whole dynasties had done before him. Oriental writers have been misled upon this subject by the Greeks. Alexander may have given his name to various cities already flourishing; but it is probable that the Greeks have denominated many a place Alexandria, which might never have been known to the inhabitants by that appellation.

The modern Persians write the name of the city in question سمرقند *Samarkand.* This can scarcely have been the original orthography. I observe that the names of several places in Tartary end in *kand,* such as *Tashkand, Iarkand, Ourkand.* Now this Tartar word *kand* is probably the same with the Persian کند *kand,* which signifies a town or village. The name therefore is equivalent to *Samar-town;* but I am unable to explain the meaning of سمر *Samar.* The river, which waters the great valley of Bokhara, flows through the middle of this city, which was the ancient Capital of the country. It was here that Timur Lang concluded the career of his life and of his glory. The seat of

government has since been transferred to the city of Bokhara, where the Cham of Tartary holds a Court, perhaps not less polished than that of some other northern Potentates, who make a greater display of exterior civilization.

According to Major Wilford the mountain of *Meru*, so much celebrated in Indian mythology, was situate in the country now called the little Bokhara. The learned writer has not stated, as far as I remember, that there are two cities between the mountains of Harat and the river Oxus, one of which is called *Meru-shah-jan*, and the other *Meru-rud*. Hyde gives us the orthography of the first as it existed in the *Deri*, مروشهجان, which may be divided *Meru-shah-jan*. I think the name must be corrupted. مرو رود *Meru-rud* signifies *Meru-river*, or possibly *brown Meru*. I have called the attention of the reader to these names, because they appear to show the great connexion which some have thought existed in very remote times between Iran and Indostan, and of which I shall have to speak more fully in another chapter.

Bokhara is situated in the midst of a fertile

plain. D'Herbelot seems to me to have committed two mistakes in the description which he has given of this city. He says that the plain, which I have just mentioned, is called *Sogdé*, and that the Greeks thence named the country *Sogdiana*. Now I should rather think that the town was called *Sogdé*, and not the country round it. We know the appellation which the Persians constantly gave to their neighbours beyond the Oxus; and it is not impossible, that they called Bokhara سگ دہ *Sag-deh*, *Dog-town*. I would however rather believe that *Sogdé* was so pronounced by the Tartars themselves, for سیغ دہ *Sig-deh*, *beautiful town*, or *pleasant town*. D'Herbelot likewise appears to err, when he says that the river, which watered the plain, was called *Cai*. But خای *Khai*, as I should rather write the word, signifies *low ground*, and consequently was the name of the plain, and not of the river which flowed through it.

The learned Hyde, after stating the opinions of some Oriental writers concerning the sect called *Nogusha*, or *Nogushak*, writes as follows:

*Sabii itaque idola manufacta seu sculptilia non colentes (quales erant Persæ) veteri Magorum lingua dicebantur Nogushæi: Alii autem Sabii sculptilia colentes (quales erant reliqui homines) eâdem linguâ dicebantur* بخار *Bochar, quod exponitur* بت پرستان *But prestan:* atque etiam exponitur* مجمع علم *locus collectionis scientiæ; unde nominatur urbs Avicennæ* بخارا *Bochara, propter Doctorum Virorum ibi confluxum.*

If the Magi gave the appellation of *Bochar*, or *Bokhar*, to idolators, they of course meant it as a term of reproach; and consequently we may conclude, that the inhabitants of Bokhara made no allusion to this reproach, when they thus named their city. No people ever gave a contemptuous name to their country, or to the place of their habitation. It is therefore obvious that the Magi must have meant one thing by Bokhar, and the inhabitants of Bokhara another.

With regard to the Arabic explanation of this word, however flattering for the people of

* *But Prestan* signifies idolators.

Bokhara, I cannot understand what it can have to do with the name in question. The Arabic words, مجمع علم *majama ilm*, signify *collectio scientiæ*, and not *locus collectionis scientiæ*, as Hyde has translated them. But the Persian word *Bokhara*, as far as I can perceive, offers not the slightest similitude to such a meaning.

There can be little doubt that the orthography of the modern Persians often greatly varies from that employed by their ancestors, who wrote in Zend or in Pehlvi. The use of the Arabic alphabet necessarily helped to produce this change; and has even contributed to alter the pronunciation of words. I am inclined to think, that Bokhara was originally called *Bakra*, or *Bokra*, which word signifies in Pehlvi *verdant*, or *well-watered*. The delightful situation of Bokhara, the beautiful gardens which surround it, and the fine river which flows by its walls, seem to justify this etymology. For the same reason it may have been occasionally named *Bekhdre*, when the fields and the groves around it were clothed with the fresh verdure of the Spring. *Bekhdre* in Zend signifies the vernal

season; nor is it improbable that the name of Bactria or Bactra is to be traced to this word.

11. Margiana was bounded on the east by Sogdiana, on the south by Aria, on the west by Hyrcania, and on the north by the Oxus. Pliny thus describes it. *Sequitur regio Margiane, apricitatis inclytæ, sola in eo tractu vitifera, undique inclusa montibus amœnis, ambitu stadiorum M. D., difficilis aditu propter arenosas solitudines per CXX millia passuum, et ipsa contra Parthiæ tractum situ.* It is remarkable, that the Persian word, مرج *marj*, implies a territory such as Pliny describes, since it signifies a field surrounded with high banks; hence it is often used to signify an encampment.

The different tribes, that inhabited Margiana, are named by the Greeks *Derbiccæ*, or *Derbissi; Massagetæ; Parni; Daæ, Tapuri*, and *Mardi.*

The first of these tribes was named *Derbissi* by Ctesias; and perhaps this appellation signified possessors of the wild, or sovereigns of the forest. The Persian words دار *dar* and بيشة *bishah* seem to authorise this etymology.

The *Massagetæ*, as they are called by the

Greeks, had establishments both in Sogdiana and in Margiana. But the Greeks confounded two different appellations in writing *Μασσαγέται*. It is well known to every Orientalist that the ancient Persians generally called the Scythians *dogs;* as the modern Turks designate their Christian neighbours at the present day. In Pehlvi *mah-sag* signified *a great dog;* and a Scythian of the tribe in question appears to have been honoured above the rest of his countrymen in being called *a great dog—mah-sag.* But these *great dogs* were of the numerous tribe of Scythians called *Getæ* by the Greeks. The real name of this people was گت *Gut,* which word has been variously sounded in the languages of Europe *Yut, Got, Goth;* and its proper signification is *great, mighty, gigantic.* Hence in the north of Europe, whither the Getæ wandered from the shores of the Caspian, Scandinavian tradition represents the ancient Goths as heroes and as giants. (See my notes to an unfinished poem called "Odin.")*

Some other Scythians, who dwelt in the Pro-

* Published by Longman and Co.

vince of Margiana, are called *Parni* by Ptolemy. This name appears to be derived from پرن *parn*, and indicates that this people must have been more polished than their neighbours.

I consider it as an error to suppose, that the *Daæ*, or *Dahæ*, were a people distinct from the other Scythians. The name is easily to be traced to دہ *dah;* and the *Dahæ* were the cerfs of Scythia.

The *Tapuri*, according to Strabo, dwelt on the borders of Margiana, next Hyrcania.

*Mardi* is a name clearly to be derived from the word مرد *mard*, which signifies *a man*. The people, who took this name, probably considered themselves as men κατ' ἐξοχήν. The reader may consult the memoir of M. Anquetil du Perron concerning the *Mardi*, if he wish for a further acquaintance with these Barbarians.

12. The long and narrow region of Hyrcania formed the southern limit of the Caspian sea, and extended northwards on the eastern side of the same sea, as far as the gulph of Balkan, and the mouth of the river Gihon. This country was bounded on the east by Margiana; on the

south by Aria; and on the west by Media, and where it turns to the north by the Caspian sea.

The Royal Palace, according to Strabo, was called *Tapé*. Apparently another word is wanting to complete the sense. *Tapé*, or *tepé*, is a Tartar word, and signifies *a hill*. The Royal residence might have been called from its situation, the hill-palace.

I should suppose that the country of Hyrcania had been named from a temple dedicated to the Sun, which may have been erected in the capital, also called Hyrcania. The name seems to be compounded of هور *hur*, *Sol*, and خانه *khanah*, *domus*—*Hur-khanah*, *domus Solis*.

13. The province, called Aria, or Ariana, by the Greeks, was situated in the centre of Iran.

It would be difficult to ascertain the name which the Persians gave to the province which the Greeks have taught us to call Aria, if we had not to compare the passages of which I have already spoken in Herodotus and in the first Book of Chronicles. But in comparing these two passages, it becomes evident that the Greek historian gave the name of *Arii* to the

Medes, from hearing the inhabitants of *Hara*, (a large city of Media) called *Harin*, or perhaps *Haria* by the Chaldeans. The city of *Hara* was probably so denominated from its being situated on a mountain. There seem to be many proofs, that the word *her*, *har*, or *hara*, signifying a mountain, was not confined to the Hebrew language. Mention is made in the Bible (Jerem. li. 27.) of the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, or Mini, and Ashchenaz. Jonathan writes הַרמִיני *Harmini* in his targum, where the text has מִינִי *Mini*. It is obvious that this is the country, which the Greeks called Armenia; and *Harmini* apparently signified the mountains of *Mini*, or *Mina*, which word in ancient as well as in modern Persian signifies heaven. This appellation was of course given to them from their great height; and when we consider, that Armenia is one of the most mountainous countries of Asia, this etymology will not appear improbable. If therefore *her*, or *har*, signified a mountain in the ancient dialects of the Armenians and Medians, it may have been in use among the Persians, especially as no one can

compare the Pehlvi with the Hebrew and Chaldaic, without tracing many words in the first of these languages to the two last. I observe that a city called *Hara* stands on the supposed site of the ancient Aria, not far from the lake of Zereh, and at the foot of a mountain. The mountains which divided the ancient province of Aria from Margiana are still called *Herat*, or *Harat*.

Before I conclude this chapter it may be necessary to say something of the denomination of *Irak*, or *Erek-Agem*, which the Arabian writers frequently give to the provinces anciently called Parthia and Susiana. The word is now written عراق عجم *Erak Agem* by the Orientalists; but this combination of letters gives no sense, which can lead us to suppose that it ever formed the name of a country. I am therefore induced to conclude, that the orthography has been altered. There is another region, which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates, and which is called *Erak Arab*. Now as this district is to the south of the *Gezireh*, it includes the country anciently called Babylonia; and I

would therefore trace the name to the Chaldaic, in which language ארק ערב *Arak*, or *Erak Arab*, signifies *the land of Arabia.* The word *erak* may have been borrowed by the Arabs from the Chaldeans, in applying it to the country in question. The Arabs also denominated Parthia and Susiana *Erak Agem;* and this name has been adopted for the whole of Persia by many Persian writers. Hyde however seems to think, that in this instance *Erak* is to be traced to *Irej*, or *Iredge*, the name of the son of Pheridun; but I confess I cannot see the slightest reason for adopting this etymology. The same author also says that *ajam*, or *agem*, signifies exterior. This may be occasionally the sense given to the word; but it more commonly means a barbarian. If the Persians call their country *Erak-Agem*, it is probably in copying the Arabians, and without understanding the name. Indeed the word *agem* is Arabic, and not Persian. Hyde says he cannot conjecture whence the Greeks found the name *Parthia;* and he thinks it a corruption for *Pars.* We have seen, however, that according to Isidorus,

*Parthian* was equivalent to *exile* in the language of the Scythians, and that the Parthians were of Scythian origin. It cannot therefore be thought extraordinary that their neighbours to the west of the Tigris should have denominated them barbarians. I would propose to change the *ain* in *Erak* into an *eliph*, and to read ارق عجم *Erak Agem*, which name signifies a country of barbarians. The Parthians were in fact barbarians; and their descendants, the inhabitants of Erak Agem, perhaps still more deserve that appellation.

# CHAPTER II.

## *Of the origin of the Persian monarchy.*

ACCORDING to the Persian historians the vast empire of their primæval monarchs existed in the earliest ages of the world, and extended over the whole of Asia, with the exception of India. If we believe the same writers, the first dawn of science appeared in their country; and it was on the banks of the Gihon, that men first became acquainted with their moral and religious duties. The arts had flourished for ages at Balkh, and that city had been already long celebrated as the seat of learning, when the inhabitants of the west were yet either unknown to the politer Orientalists, or were despised by them as rude and ignorant barbarians. Neither does the national vanity of the Persians permit

them to acknowledge, that their country was once but a province of the Assyrian empire. They admit that Iran was governed by different dynasties; but they affect to trace all these dynasties to a Persian origin; and they seem unwilling to recognise a foreigner even in Alexander the Great.

If we adopt the sentiments of the Greeks, we must attribute more limited possessions, and a much more recent origin to the Persian monarchy; nor indeed can we properly speak of the empire of the Medes and Persians until the reign of Cyrus. Media and Persia continued under the dominion of Assyria, until the revolt of the Medes in the time of Sardanapalus; and from the date of that event to the period when Cyrus mounted the throne, it would be a misapplication of terms to give the title of empire to the Median monarchy.

The great disparity, which exists between the reports of the Greek and Persian historians, seems to have proceeded from various causes.

The Greeks seldom knew any other language than their own. They seem even to have in-

dulged a childish contempt for all foreign idioms; and perhaps the antipathy, which they bore to the Persians, may have particularly prepossessed them against the dialect spoken by that people. Aristophanes probably amused the Athenians, not less with his guttural imitations of the Persian language, than with his scarcely harsher echo of the croaking of the frogs. Ctesias was apparently the only Greek historian, who was well acquainted with the language of Iran; but that author seems to have listened to every idle tale that was told to him; and to have wanted the power to discriminate between truth and falsehood.

The Greeks appear not to have been aware, that the same empire, which during many ages was called Assyrian on this side of the Caspian gates, was denominated Iranian beyond them.

The province of *Phars*, or Persia proper, was honoured with no distinction until the time of the great monarch, called Khosru by the Persians, and Cyrus by the Greeks. It appears from Herodotus, that the Medes, in the time of Astyages, considered the Persians as a people

much inferior to themselves. But Cyrus was the son of a Persian; and he was chiefly indebted to the countrymen of his father for his elevation to the throne of Media. His kingdom appears from the beginning to have at least comprehended Media, Parthia, Susiana, and Persis, as it was called by the Greeks, the Pharsistan, or Persia proper, of modern times. When Cyrus finally extended his empire from the Indus to the Mediterranean, the name of the country, whence his family had sprung, became celebrated in proportion to the renown of the conqueror, who had re-united all the provinces of the Assyrian empire under his dominion. Cyrus and his successors appear to have been denominated Kings of the Medes and Persians, by the nations which dwelt to the west of the Tigris. But from that stream, or at least from the frontiers of Parthia, to the Oxus, the Great King was designated as the King of Iran.

It was the custom of all the ancient monarchs of the East to assume names which were significative. Thus among the Jews דוד David sig-

nified *the Beloved*; שלמה *Shelomeh*, which name we pronounce Solomon, was so called from the peace and tranquillity which he established during his reign; חזקיה *Hezekiah*, or *Hczek-Jah*, means the strength of Jah, or of Jehovah. The names, or titles, taken by the Princes of the Heathen world were generally derived from those of their Gods, of the Sun, and Moon, and the Stars. But the same monarch was often known by different appellations in different countries. The Assyrians and Iranians, while both were governed by the successors of Ninus, seem not to have given the same names to their Princes; and if we look into the catalogue, which Eusebius appears to have borrowed from Castor, we shall find that the Greeks gave to the Assyrian monarchs, sometimes their Assyrian and sometimes their foreign names. Ninyas is also named Zames. According to M. Anquetil du Perron (Mem. de l'Academ. Vol. 40.) *Zam* in Pehlvi signified *time, a period, a year*. The word *zeman* bore the same meaning in Chaldaic, and seems to have been introduced into Hebrew after the Captivity. The

modern Arabians pronounce it *Zāman*. It is probable that the Greeks had seen the words *zam Ninyas, period of Ninyas,* in the Persian records, and had mistaken *zam* for a proper name. But the fifth King is called *Aralius,* or *Amyrus;* and these are evident corruptions from the Chaldaic and Arabic titles which he bore. The first of these titles was אור־אל *Aor-al,* or *Ar-al, lux Dei,* which among the worshippers of the Sun was equivalent to *lux Solis.* The second title was nothing else than the Arabic word امير, *Amir, rex, dux, &c.* The sixth King is named *Xerxes* and *Baleus* in the catalogue, and both these appellations are corruptions from the Zend and the Chaldaic. Xerxes is corrupted from *Khshethro, rex.* (Zendavest. tom. 2. Sacy Mem. sur les inscript. de Naschi Roustam.) Baleus is equally to be traced to Baal, or Bel. The names of Sphærus and Mithræus seem to be Persian. The first was probably *Sapor,* which, as M. de Sacy observes, is equal to *Shah-pour, filius regis.* Mithræus is to be referred to the Persian Mithras. Under these circumstances it may be suspected, that

the Greeks have made mistakes, and have sometimes counted the same monarch twice over under different names, in the lists which they have given of the successors of Ninyas.

The Greeks appear to have had little acquaintance with the early history of the nations beyond the Tigris. It is however from them, and only from them, that we have obtained the important information that Media and Persia were subdued by the Assyrians, under whose dominion those countries appear to have remained during the lapse of many centuries. We shall presently see how the vanity of the Persians has induced them to conceal this part of their history under the veil of allegory. But the very fable which they have invented confirms the report of the Greeks.

It seems to be generally agreed, that there now exist no Persian books of more ancient date than the Hegira; unless two exceptions be very doubtfully made in favour of the Sadder and the Zendavesta.

The Persian historians, who have written since the æra of Mahomet, probably derived

their information of antecedent events from two sources: *first*, from the traditions preserved by the followers of Zerdhurst; and *secondly*, from the public annals, some of which might, for a time, have escaped the destructive zeal of the intolerant Mussulmans. It appears from the Book of Ezra, as well as from Ctesias, that the Persians kept records of all public acts during the time of the Kaianian dynasty. They did so likewise, as we are assured by Agathias, under the dynasty of the Sassanidæ; and we can scarcely doubt that the Magi, though neglected under the successors of Alexander, and discouraged under the ruder despotism of the Arsacidæ, preserved the memory of the great events which had happened, while Iran was governed by its ancient monarchs, and while their own order was yet held in the highest veneration by the kings, the nobles, and the people.

The Sassanidæ, who overthrew the Parthian dynasty, about four centuries before the Hegira, pretended to derive their descent from the ancient monarchs of Iran. They expressed an anxious desire to restore the former glory of the

Persian name; nor did they conceal their hopes of recovering possession of all the countries, which had been subject to the sway of their real or pretended ancestors. They endeavoured to recal to the minds of their countrymen the splendid actions of the ancient Persians. They renewed many institutions, which had been abolished or forgotten; protected the Magi; rebuilt the ruined *pyrea;* and re-established the religion which had been taught or reformed by Zerdhurst.

But the endeavours of the Princes of this dynasty to revive the memory of past events, and to celebrate the power and prowess of their ancestors, did more honour to their own patriotism, than service to the cause of historical truth. Little severity of criticism, it may be easily supposed, was exercised by the Magi and the Suphi in adopting the fabulous traditions, which were formed to flatter the vanity, and to please the fancy of every Persian reader. What auditor could listen without delight, during the recital of those wonderful histories, in which were recorded the triumphs of Kaio-

marth, the conquests of Du'l'Carnaim, and the exploits of Rustem?

It is easy to see from the pages of Mirkhond, that the Persian annalists have been rarely in any age exempt from the love of the marvellous. We cannot therefore wonder, that some ancient traditions, full indeed of improbabilities, but flattering to national pride, have been generally received by the people as historically true. During the government of the Sassanidæ, it was alike the interest of the Kings and of the Magi to revive the memory of the long-forgotten greatness of Iran; and after the fall of that dynasty it was still pleasing to the Persian poets and historians to repeat the traditions, which recorded and exaggerated the glorious deeds of their ancestors.

The Persians in general consider Kaiomarth, the founder of the Peshdadian dynasty, as the first monarch who reigned over Iran. But a new turn has been given to the tide of opinion, at least among Europeans, with regard to this subject, by the appearance among us of a Persian book called the Dabistan. This book was

first called into notice by the praises bestowed on it by Sir William Jones; and it has since been in part translated into English by Mr. Gladwin.

The author of the Dabistan flourished in the latter part of the 17th century. His real name was Mahomet Mohsin; though he received the more general appellation of Phani. His work, as its name implies, is a description of the manners of the Persians; but it contains an account of the origin of the Iranian empire, which essentially differs from that of every other known Oriental writer. The latest English historian of Persia appears inclined to treat this account as allegorical. If we consider it under this point of view, we cannot receive it as historical; but I am much disposed to think, that there may be in this, as in many other very ancient histories, a mixture of fact and fable. I propose in the following chapter to examine this subject; and to lay before the reader the historical statements of the author of the Dabistan.

## CHAPTER III.

*Of the origin of the Persian monarchy according to the author of the Dabistan.*

ACCORDING to Mohsin five dynasties had reigned over Iran, before the Kaianian dynasty obtained possession of the kingdom. The four first of these dynasties, of which no mention is made by other Persian writers, were named from their founders, Mahabad, Jy, Sha-y, and Ye-Assan. The fifth, which is generally considered as the first of the Persian dynasties, was called the Peshdadian, or Legislative.

Sir John Malcolm is of opinion, that in what Mohsin has said of the dynasty of Mahabad, there is an evident intention to unite into one the early histories of Iran and of Indostan. The English author appears to be perfectly correct in this statement. Mahabad, the first

monarch of the Iranians, exactly resembles Menu, the first legislator of the Hindus. Both divided their subjects into four classes; and both pretended, that the books which contained their laws, were gifts from heaven. Fourteen Menus, according to the Bramins, have appeared in the world; and fourteen Mahabads, according to Mohsin, governed the earth in succession. Menu, say the Hindus, was the first mortal who lived after the *Cali-yug;* and Mahabad, says the author of the Dabistan, was the first man of the present period, and the only man who survived the last.

The Mahabadian dynasty terminated with Abad-Azu. This Prince abdicated the crown; and Jy, who received the surname of Aphram, ascended the throne. The historian calls him the son of Abad Azu. He admits, however, that the interval between the reigns of these two monarchs was long; that this was a period of war and anarchy; and that Jy was the founder of a new dynasty. This monarch, who was evidently a conqueror, appears to have been also a stranger; nor did he obtain possession

of the kingdom, until he had laid it waste with fire and sword. The blood of the people, says Mohsin in the language of Oriental exaggeration, flowed in such abundance, that the mills were turned by its streams.

According to the same author, Jy lived secluded in the mountains until the death of Abad Azu. It is little probable, that the sceptre of a disputed empire, which seems at last to have been won by force of arms, should have been wrested from the grasp of other competitors by a hermit of the mountains.

The dynasty of Jy was succeeded by that of Shai, surnamed *Caliu*. The last sovereign of this third dynasty was called Shai-Mahbul. A Prince of the name of Ye-Assan, or Yasan, was the founder of the fourth dynasty. Great disorder and confusion took place after the death of the last of the Kings of this race, who was called Yasan-Agem; but the crown was at length assumed by Kaiomarth, who is also commonly known among the Orientalists by the name of Gil-Shah.

Such is in brief the account which Mohsin

has given us of the dynasties, which reigned over Iran before the time of Kaiomarth, the founder of the Peshdadian dynasty. It has been, or it may be objected to the veracity of this writer, *first*, that his statement of the origin of the Persian monarchy differs from that of every other known Oriental historian; *secondly*, that his chronological reckonings are utterly absurd and untenable; and *thirdly*, that he has blended the history of Indostan with that of Iran, and has reported events as true, which are merely fabulous and allegorical.

1. That Mohsin should have given an account of the origin of the monarchy, which differs from that generally received among the Persians, appears to me to be no insuperable objection to the truth of his narrative. This writer was one of the *Suphi;* and if a disciple, he must be counted among the most sceptical of the disciples of Islamism. There can be little doubt indeed, from the internal evidence which his work affords, that if he were a Mussulman by profession, he was a Tsabean by principle. Now if any traditions of ancient Persia exist;

if any manuscripts of a date previous to the Hegira be preserved; we may be assured that it is only in the possession of a *Guebre*, that they are at present to be found. Mohsin, as Mr. Gladwin informs us, was the disciple of the celebrated Dara Shikob, who was hated by the Mussulmans for his infidelity, and loved and respected by the *Guebres* for his piety. It may have easily happened, therefore, that manuscripts, inaccessible to the followers of Mahomet, may have been seen and perused by a sectary of the prohibited religion of Zerdhurst. It has no doubt been questioned, whether Mohsin ever saw the manuscripts to which he refers as authorities; but it is something in his favour, that one of the works which he cites, called the *Dussateer*, has been found, since his own book has become known to Europeans. This circumstance has happened fortunately for the credit of Mohsin Phani; but Europeans would perhaps sometimes do well to consider, whether they can really expect the Orientalists to be very sincere in their professions, when they express their readiness to communicate to them

all the manuscripts which treat of the traditions of their ancestors, and of the mysteries of their religion. The Guebres, or Gaurs as they are vulgarly called, are rancorously persecuted by the intolerant Mussulmans. They may fear to trust their secrets to the indiscretion of strangers. They may have no desire of making converts; they may be aware of the danger of reasoning; and they may wish to avoid the scoff of incredulity.

2. Whatever objections be urged against the chronological statements of Mohsin, it may not be the less true, that this author copied them from manuscripts secretly preserved by the sect to which he belonged. It appears indeed, that the whole system of his chronological reckoning is interwoven with the superstitions of the Tsabeans. The sect, of which he was a member, and which he tells us was anciently called Iranian, Yezedian, Yezdanian, with many other epithets, adored the host of heaven, and believed in the influence of the stars over all mundane affairs. Besides the usual computation by Solar years, these Yezdanians reckoned

time according to two different periods, which they called *kirsal* and *phirsal*. By the word *kirsal* (کرسال), they understood the period in which a planet revolves round the Sun. The word *phirsal* (فرسال), composed of *phir*, splendour, and *sal*, a year, indicated the period in which a planet makes 360 revolutions round the Sun. Thus the *kirsal* of Saturn, being reckoned in round numbers at 30 Solar years, was equal to one day of the *phirsal;* and the *phirsal*, or brilliant year of this planet, was equal to 10,800 Solar years. The author informs us, that a revolution of Saturn is one day; that 30 such days make one month; 12 such months one year; 1,000,000 of such years one *ferd;* 1,000,000 of *ferds* one *werd;* 1,000,000 of *werds* one *merd;* 1,000,000 of *merds* one *jad;* 3000 *jads* one *wad;* 2000 *wads* one *zad;* and that according to this reckoning the Mahabadian monarchy lasted 100 zad of years.

It must be evident that in compiling this strange chronological *farrago*, the Yezdanians intended to show, that they believed the human race to have existed for a period only not eter-

nal. Accordingly the author tells us immediately after, that they (the Yezdanians) maintain that the origin of the human race is unknown, and that it does not come within the compass of human knowledge.

The Yezdanians also employed the following numerical terms—*Selam*=100,000—*Semar*=100 *Sclams*—*Bisiar*=100 *Semars*—*Aradeh*=100 *Bisiars*—*Aaradeh*=100 *Aradehs*—*Raz*=100 *Aaradehs*—*Aaraz*=100 *Razes*—and finally *Biaraz* =100 *Aarazes*.

According to Mohsin the Jyanian dynasty reigned during 100 *Semar* of years; and as these years were *phirsaly*, and reckoned according to the revolutions of the planet Saturn, the period must have been equal to a number of Solar years, which it would require a long line of cyphers to express.

It would be idle to waste more time in speaking of the chronological dreams of the Yezdanians. Their object was apparently to impress their followers with the idea, that no date can be assigned to the existence of the world, or to the origin of the human race; but

that the supreme God, (of whom it is only justice to say that they entertained the most exalted notions,) had governed the universe from eternity, through the sideral influences which had emanated from his essence. The system of the Tsabeans, though erroneous, was, in its origin at least, grand and imposing; but as we find it to have been understood by the ancient Persians, it appears to have been already debased and deformed by the jejune reasoning, and inane speculations, of judicial astrologers.

It is not improbable, however, that as the sacerdotal class, in almost all the countries of Asia, had an esoteric as well as an exoteric doctrine, there might have been a key to the enigmatical language of the Yezdanians which is now lost for us. Be this as it may, we must endeavour to confine their extravagant reckonings within the limits of probability.

It may be observed, that though Mohsin Phani speaks of four dynasties, he names only twenty monarchs, who reigned before Kaiomarth. Fourteen Kings are mentioned as belonging to the first of these four dynasties, and

only six as belonging to the three last. Now perhaps, when all the clouds of mystery are evaporated, it will be found that the Yezdanians meant to assign a revolution of the planet Saturn, which they estimated in round numbers at 30 years, to each of these twenty reigns. The whole period therefore amounted to 600 years; and this period was known in the East as a cycle (Joseph. Ant. Jud. L. 1.) from a very remote period of antiquity. Thus far then the Yezdanians might have indulged their passion for astronomical calculations, and have applied them to historical epochs, without greatly deviating from probability. According to the rule, which I have adopted in the preceding book, we ought to reckon 660 years for 20 reigns. This rule, however, like other general theoretical rules, may have its exceptions.

According to a passage in Mohsin, it would appear that in the time of the first Mahabad, the equinoxial colure passed into the constellation of Aries. Now if this author really copied his account from the traditions of the ancient Yezdanians, as he pretends to have done, we

must understand him to speak of the real Zodiac, and to make no allusion whatever to the fixed Zodiac of the Greeks. But according to the motion of the stars in longitude, rather more than 4320 years have elapsed since the Sun retrograded at the vernal equinox from the constellation of Taurus into that of Aries, if we reckon by the real, and not by the fixed Zodiac. This calculation carries us back about a century and a half before the deluge according to the chronology of the Vulgate; but I have already stated my reasons for giving a decided preference to the chronology of the Septuagint; and those, who think with me on this point, will have no difficulty in admitting that the origin of the Iranian empire may be traced back about 25 centuries before the Christian æra.

With regard to the three dynasties, which succeeded the dynasty of Mahabad, I am very much disposed to think, that they are to be reduced to three reigns; and that Jy-Aphram was in fact the same with Jy-Alad; Sha-y-Cali-u with Sha-y-Mah-Bul; and Ye-Assan with Ye-Assan-Agem. I shall explain my reasons for

holding this opinion more fully in another chapter; but if this conjecture be right, we shall have, according to the Iranian mode of calculation, only 510 years to reckon from the commencement of the Mahabadian dynasty to the time of Kaiomarth.

3. Before we condemn Mohsin Phani for having confounded the early history of Iran with that of Indostan, let us enquire whether there be no reason to think, that these two countries were originally under the sway of the same monarch.

During the first ages after the Deluge, men must have been chiefly dependent for support on the produce of the chace, and on their flocks and herds. Their migrations from one region to another must consequently have been rapid; and we may easily believe that in the course of 8 or 10 generations the posterity of Elam had traversed the provinces of Iran, and had reached the borders of the Indus. After having passed the Cophen they may have already found themselves in the vicinity of the descendants of Joctan, who, according to Josephus, were established beyond that river. These descendants

of Joctan were probably of the line of Sheba. We are told in the book of Genesis, that the dwelling of the sons of Joctan was from Mesha unto Sephar. We read both these names wrongly in following the faulty punctuation of the Masorites. For מֵשָׁה *Meshah* I would point מֵיסָה *Musa*; and for ספרה *Sepharah* I would read *Sapharah*. Musa, now called Moka, is a sea-port town on the Arabian Gulph, about 40 miles from Saphar, the ancient Capital of the Province of Saba, and about 550 miles south of Mecca. It appears from many circumstances, that the inhabitants of Musa carried on a direct commerce with India from the earliest periods of history; and a Sabean colony may have passed by sea from Musa to the mouths of the Indus, two or three centuries after the Deluge. But the Cushites, in the line of Rama, who had established themselves along the western coast of the Persian Gulph, from Gherar to Dadan, and to the river Om, the Lar of Ptolemy, probably sent colonies to India about the same period. The hostility, which seems to have existed in the early ages of the world between the

families of Shem and of Ham, may have engaged the descendants of Joctan to unite themselves by alliances with the posterity of Elam; and these two united races were probably spread over a considerable part both of Iran and of Indostan.

Many circumstances seem to me to confirm the opinion, that, in the early ages of the world, the inhabitants of Iran and of India were governed by the same laws, and were united as one people under the same monarchy. The Zend, the ancient language of the Iranians, was apparently a dialect of the Sanscrit. According indeed to the ancient traditions of the Hindus, both the Persians and the Chinese were subjects of India. Thus it is distinctly stated in the Institutes of Menu, that many of the families of the military class abandoned the ordinances of the Veda, and among these are mentioned the *Pahlavas* and the *Chinas*—the Persians and the Chinese.

It has been argued, if I mistake not, that the religious system of the ancient Iranians, as described by Mohsin, differs essentially from that which existed in India; and that therefore it is difficult to believe that the Indians and Iranians

could ever have been united together as one people. Difference in religious opinions has, in all ages of the world, rendered the union of two nations difficult and precarious. But in the present instance it may be doubted, whether any real difference existed among the first inhabitants of Iran and of India on questions of religion. I am of opinion that the religion of the Bramins was not that of the first inhabitants of Indostan. I believe that the Braminical doctrines were introduced by the descendants of Ham, who gradually poured their colonies into India, and who finally wrested the empire from the descendants of Shem. I see nothing in the religion of the Bramins but the most distorted system of Tsabaism, which has ever existed in the world. But I look upon this monstrous idolatry as the work of the Hamites, who appear at a very early period to have obtained the upper hand in India, and to have forced the Shemites to retire to this side of the river Indus. I cannot therefore consider the objection, which I have stated above, as fatal to the veracity of the historical narrative of Mohsin Phani.

# CHAPTER IV.

*The same subject continued.*

I shall not enter into the details, which the author of the Dabistan has given of the events which, according to his statement, raised Jy Aphram to the throne of Iran. Neither shall I repeat after this writer the account which he gives of the succession of the dynasties of Jy, Shai, and Yeasan. The traditions of the ancient Persians had been apparently altered by the Suphi before the time of Mohsin; and perhaps these Suphi were not aware of the absurdity of some of the innovations which they introduced. It could only have been some writer, who wavered in his belief between the Zendavesta and the Koran, and who was ignorant that he was

guilty of an intolerable anachronism, who could have represented the Yezdanians as speaking of the angel Gabriel, of whom the ancient Persians, at least in the early ages, knew nothing. The chronological statements of Mohsin, whether made by the Yezdanians or not, are to be rejected; nor is there any probability whatever in the account of the long duration of the three dynasties, which succeeded that of Mahabad. I have already mentioned my opinion that these three dynasties amounted to no more than three reigns.

But it may be said, that where so many fabulous legends have been admitted, no faith ought to be given to any part of the narrative. I am not disposed to allow the validity of this conclusion. Many fables have been recorded by Livy, in his history of the Roman Republic; but we do not therefore refuse credit to the general narrative of that celebrated writer. The smile of incredulity may relax the features of the reader, when he is told by the gravest of Roman historians, that Romulus and Remus were suckled by a wolf; but he would not therefore

disbelieve that these brothers had really existed, and had founded the city of Rome.

In the account which Mohsin Phani has given of the early annals of the Iranian empire, we find it stated that Jy Aphram founded a new dynasty after the death of Abad Azu. There can be no reason to deny the truth of this account; but it would appear that this monarch and his successors, down to the time of Kaiomarth, were, as well as the Princes of the Mahabadian dynasty, of Indian origin, and were Kings of Indostan as well as of Iran. The author himself makes no allusion to India; and gives not a hint, that his country had still continued under the sway of a stranger. But Iran, he admits, was still governed according to the institutions of Mahabad; and Mahabad, as we have already seen, was the same with Menu, the celebrated legislator of the Hindus.

I consider Jy Aphram and Jy Alad to have been the same. The additional names of Aphram and Alad may have been given to the same Prince; but the Suphi, desirous to prove the great antiquity of the Iranian monarchy, ap-

pear to have supposed two Kings, who were distinguished by different names, and between whom there had existed a long line of unnamed sovereigns. The same artifices are repeated with regard to Shai-Caliu, and Shai-Mah-Bul, and again with regard to Yeasan and Yeasan-Agem.

I have examined the statements of Mohsin with all the impartiality in my power. His chronological calculations are inadmissible; but when these are brought within moderate limits, I see no reason for questioning the existence of the Iranian monarchy before the time of Kaiomarth. It seems to be in favour of Mohsin that most of the names mentioned by him belong to the ancient dialects of Iran. This assertion I shall proceed to prove.

1. بادشاه *Mahabad.* In Pehlvi شاه *maha*, or مه *mah*, signified great. In Sanscrit the same word bore the same meaning. Hyde explains باد or بد *bad* by *præfectus, vel præsul. Maha -bad* consequently signifies *magnus præsul.* Perhaps we may translate this title with great exactness *Pontifex Maximus.*

2. اباد ازو *Abad-Azu.* I take this name to be incorrectly written for اباد ازر *Abad-Azur.* I believe *Abad* to be here the same word as *Bad;* and I shall have occasion to show presently, that the Persians frequently prefix proper names by an emphatic *eliph. Abad-Azur* signifies *præfectus ignis.* It had consequently the same meaning as *hyr-bad.*

3. جي افرام *Jy Aphram,* or *Jy Apharam.* Mohsin informs us that *Jy* signified *purity* in the *Azerian* or *Abadian* language; and Sir John Malcolm observes that it means *pure* both in Pehlvi and in Sanscrit. I should think only in the latter. *Jy* does not occur in the vocabulary of M. Anquetil du Perron.

The word *Aphram,* or *Apharam,* presents greater difficulties. I have already remarked, that proper names in Persian are often prefixed by an emphatic *eliph.* Thus the name of one of the ancient Kings of Persia is written sometimes فريدون *Pharidun,* and sometimes افريدون *Apharidun.* In the example before us, I am disposed to think that افرام *Apharam* has been written for فرام *Pharam.* Now this word, composed of فر

*phar* and ام *am*, signifies *decor meus*, or *puritas mea*, or *purus sum*. That the word *phar* existed in ancient as well as in modern Persian, I can easily believe; because many words in Pehlvi are to be traced to the Hebrew and Chaldaic, and בר *bar* signifies pure, and ברי *beri purity* in those languages. The Persians and Arabians, as is well known, frequently change *B* into *P*, or *Ph*. It appears, that *Aphram*, or *Apharam*, was the Persian translation of the Sanscrit *Jy*.

4. الاد جي *Jy Alad*. We have just seen that *Jy* signifies *purity;* and that *Apharam* bears nearly the same meaning. We may, however, without deviating from the sense, understand this name to signify clear unsullied purity. But whether the monarch, who bore this name, had assumed it unjustly, or whether he had ceased to merit it before the conclusion of his reign, he has also received the appellation of *Jy Alad*, which signifies *contaminated purity*.

5. كليو شاي *Shai Caliu*. Mohsin says, that the successor of Jy Alad was called, on account of his piety, *Shai*, or *Shaey*, which signifies *God*, and *worshipper of God*. I believe we

must take this assertion on the authority of the historian. With respect to the word *Caliu*, which is also frequently written قلیو *Kaliu*, or as the French have it *Qualiu*, it is generally changed into فلیو *Phaliu* by the Mahometans, and used as a term of reproach and contempt. The Suphi seem to have understood it to signify a worshipper of fire. I should rather take the word to be of Sanscrit origin. *Shai Caliu* was of Indian descent, and might have been a worshipper of *Cal*, or *Cali*. The Hindus personified Time, as male and female, under the names which I have just mentioned. *Cal* was the same as Moloch or Saturn; and *Cali* was imperfectly represented by the less terrible Hecate. *Maha-Cal*, the Great *Cal*, was the symbol of eternity. His idol still exists in the cavern of Elephanta; and with two of his eight hands he is represented as drawing a veil over the Sun—in a third hand he holds a sword, and in a fourth a bason filled with blood. The temples of *Maha-Cali*, the dreadful spouse of Siva, are numerous in Hindostan. Her idol is black, and of gigantic size. A collar of human skulls is suspended from her

neck; and her infatuated votaries believe that the wrath of this cruel Goddess can be appeased only by blood, of which torrents are annually shed upon her altars.

6. شاي مهبول *Shai Mahbul.* I consider *Mah-Bul* to be an evident corruption for *Maha-Bala.* This was one of the Gods of the Hindus, otherwise called *Bala-Rama,* the brother of Crishna. But the name of this Deity was apparently assumed by one of the monarchs of India, about 950 years after the *Cali-Yug.* The date of the Cali Yug is fixed by Albumazar for the year 3725 before the Hegira; and this reckoning consequently places the *Cali-Yug* at the distance of only 25 years from the deluge, according to the chronology of the LXX. It appears, therefore, that the reign of Maha Bala commenced about 2153 years before the Christian æra. This Emperor of India was also called Maha Nanda.

7. ياسان اجام *Yeasan Agem,* or *Yasan-Ajam.* Mohsin informs us that *Yasan* signifies *worthy,* or *justly exalted;* and this is the sense which the word still bears in Persian. *Ajam* was one

of the names given by the ancient Persians to God. (Hyde p. 178.) It appears therefore that the monarch, of whom I have been speaking, assumed a Divine title, and was called the *worthy*, or *justly exalted Ajam*.

## CHAPTER V.

### *Of the Peshdadian dynasty.*

THE Persian historians, with the exception of Mohsin Phani, date the commencement of the Iranian Monarchy from the time of Kaiomarth, or Kaiomars, who was the founder of the dynasty called Peshdadian, or Peishdadian. We generally find the name of this primæval King written *Kai-omars*, كيو مرث; but this orthography is erroneous, because the letter ث *se*, as Sir William Jones remarks, is seldom, or never used in any words that are not Arabic. I should write the name كيا مرت *Kia*, or *Kaiamarth, King, or Protector of the living.* The same Prince was also known by the appellation of گل شاه *Gil-Shah*, which has been translated by some, *King of the earth*, and by others more literally, *Clay-King*. As Kaiomarth was con-

sidered, not only as the first monarch, but as the first man, the name of *Clay-King* is remarkable, especially when we compare it with that of him whom we know to have been the first man. אדם *Adam* was so named from אדמה *edamah*, the red argillaceous earth of which his body was formed—*and the Lord God formed* את האדם עפר מן האדמה, *man from the dust of the* (*red argillaceous*) *earth.* (Gen. ii. 7.)

Kaiomarth was not only the first King, and the first man, according to the Persians, but was also the first legislator. Hence they called him پیشداد *Pesh-dad, Lawgiver;* and his dynasty has received the name of *Peshdadian*, or Legislative.

I reckon only three Kings of the Peshdadian dynasty besides Kaiomarth; and these were *Hushenk, Tahamarth,* and *Gem-Shid.* The Persian poets and historians represent these Princes as engaged in perpetual wars against the *Divs*, or *Dews*, or Evil Genii. We may understand this allegorical language to signify, that the first Kings of the country were continually employed in endeavouring to civilize their sub-

jects, in punishing crimes, and in repressing acts of violence.

According to Phardosi, the Peshdadian dynasty had reigned for one hundred and ten years, when Gem-Shid mounted the throne of Iran. There is nothing positively improbable in this account, though the period be long for only three reigns, and though the numbers appear to come out too much rounded. Kaiomarth reigned 30, Hushenk 40, and Tahamarth 30 years. But the Prince of Persian poets returns without disguise to the regions of fancy and fiction, when he speaks of Gem-Shid, to whose reign he assigns a period of 700 years. This monarch was defeated and slain by Zohak, who usurped the crown, and of whom I shall have more to say in the sequel.

Let us now turn our attention to the chronology. I have shown from a passage in the Dabistan, that, according to the Yezdanians, the Sun retrograded into the constellation of Aries at the Vernal equinox, apparently towards the end of the reign of the first Mahabad. In reckoning the motion of the stars in

longitude since that period, and in referring to the real zodiac, which the ancient Iranians could only have had in contemplation, we must calculate that the equinoxial colure passed from the constellation of Taurus into that of Aries about 2500 years before the Christian æra, and about 628 years after the deluge, according to the chronology of the LXX. If then Maha-bad mounted the throne about 2525 years before Christ; if 20 monarchs reigned before Gem-Shid; and if we adopt what seems to have been the calculation of the Yezdanians, and allow only 30 years at an average for each reign; we shall find that Gem-Shid began to reign 1925 years before the Christian æra.

Thus it appears that Gem-Shid became King of Iran, which the Jews call Eilam, or Ilam, about two years before the departure of Abraham from Ur. This monarch was consequently contemporary with Nimrod, who as I have already shown was the same as Belus, the father of Ninus, and who, according to many testimonies adduced in this work, reigned over the land of Shinar in the time of Abraham. Now the Per-

sian historians, with only a few exceptions, consider Zohak, who rebelled against Gem-Shid, as the same with Nimrod; and when we compare dates, and consider that Zohak was the vassal of the Iranian monarch before he rebelled against him, we may think it not improbable, that Gem-Shid was the Chedarlaomer, as Zohak, or Nimrod, or Belus, was the Amar-Pel of Scripture.

We have seen that Phardosi in the Shah-nameh assigns 700 years to the reign of Gem-Shid. This however is not merely a poetical exaggeration. Mirkhond, the most celebrated of Persian historians, informs us that Gem-Shid lived 1000 years according to some, and reigned 700 years according to others. The reign of this monarch is stated at 600 years in some Persian books consulted by M. Anquetil du Perron; and M. D'Ohson reduces the period to 350 years on other authorities.

According to all the Persian historians, with the exception of Mohsin, Gem-Shid divided the Persians into four classes. The arts and sciences first began to flourish during his reign.

It was this Prince who instructed his subjects in their religious duties. In short every institution, ascribed by Mohsin to Mahabad and his successors, is attributed by other writers to Gem-Shid. But as this monarch is generally stated to have reigned six, or seven hundred years, may it not be reasonably inferred, that the account of his reign includes those of all his predecessors with his own? The regular calculation would give 660 years for the reigns of the 20 Kings who preceded him; but, as I have before observed, the Persians seem to have reckoned a revolution of the planet Saturn, (in round numbers 30 years,) for each reign; and this calculation reduces the period to 600 years. I conceive therefore that the reign of Gem-Shid, estimated at between six and seven hundred years, indicates the period which the Iranian monarchy had existed, previous to the æra when Persia was conquered by Ninus, and when that great Kingdom became a Province of the Assyrian empire.

It is observed by Sir John Malcolm, that Gem-Shid introduced the Solar year, and that

he established a festival called *Nouroze* for the day on which it began, and which was the day when the Sun entered the sign of Aries. This statement is confirmed by the authority of various Oriental writers; but it is obvious, that the *Nouroze*, or *Nuruz* (نوروز), *New year's day*, was originally established in Persia at the vernal equinox. Now, as I have already stated, we must go back nearly 25 centuries before the Christian æra to find the time, when, according to the real state of the heavens, the day of the vernal equinox coincided with that in which the Sun receded from the constellation of Taurus into that of Aries. It is a manifest error to suppose, as some Persian writers seem to have done, that the *Nuruz* could have corresponded in the time of Gem-Shid, with the passage of the Sun at the vernal equinox into the first degree of Aries. The Sun retrograded into the first degree of this constellation at the vernal equinox, (I speak with reference to the real zodiac,) about the time of Alexander the Great. But it seems to me equally clear, that the *Nuruz* could not have been fixed by Gem-Shid for the

time, when the equinoxial colure passed from Taurus into the 30th degree of Aries. This would be to suppose, that this monarch flourished 25 centuries before the Christian æra; and unless the whole history related by the author of the Dabistan be a fable, we cannot fix so remote a period for the reign of Gem-Shid, without interfering with that system of chronology on which, for those remote ages, we can alone place any dependence. Even in taking the LXX for our guides, we cannot well admit 20 monarchs to have reigned in Persia before the year 2500 before Christ. We must therefore conclude, either that the narrative of Mohsin Phani is false, or that other Persian writers have erred in stating that the equinoxial Sun passed into Aries in the time of Gem-Shid; unless indeed we can reconcile their accounts, by supposing that the history of the reign of Gem-Shid was originally intended as an abridgement of the history of the reigns of his predecessors.

The history of Zohak, as related by the Persians, is full of fables. Some writers pretend

that he was a Syrian, and others that he was an Arabian by birth; but according to the best authenticated accounts Zohak was the Assyrian monarch, (whether Nimrod, or Ninus,) who conquered Iran, and who usurped the throne of Gem-Shid, called *Oxuartes*, or Great King, by the Greeks.

According to the author of the *Bun Dehesh*, as well as according to more modern writers, the reign of Zohak lasted for 1000 years. I can have no hesitation, therefore, in supposing with several authors who have preceded me, that by this reign the Persians intended to indicate the period during which their country was governed by the monarchs of Assyria. But Persian vanity scarcely acknowledges, that Iran was ever submitted to a foreign yoke. It is indeed allowed that Zohak was a stranger; but he had claims, it is said, to the crown as descended from an Iranian family, and as sprung from the blood Royal of Kaiomarth himself.

P.S. Although I have already said so much

on the subject, I shall add a few more observations to prove, that Nimrod, Belus, Amar-Pel, and Zohak, were different names or titles given to the same person.

1. I have already shown (B. 1. C. 10.) that Nimrod received that appellation, because he was considered as a rebel. Zohak was also a rebel, since he was the son of one of the Vizirs of the Persian monarch. (Mem. de M. Anquetil du Perron.) Amar-Pel was a vassal of the King of Iran, or Ilam.

2. Zohak is said by some writers to have invaded Iran at the head of an Arabian army. Ninus, whom the Greeks have frequently put in the place of Nimrod, was joined by the King of Arabia with all his forces, when he made war against the Persians.

3. *Amar*, or *Amir-Pel*, *Dux Bel*, was one of the vassal-Kings who fought under the banners of Chedarlaomer. Now the King of Shinar, in the days of Abraham, must either have been a descendant of Nimrod, or Nimrod himself.

4. Belus and Nimrod are generally ac-

knowledged to be the same. Amar-Pel and Bel, or Belus, were also apparently the same.

5. Ninus was supported in his expedition against Persia by Ariæus King of Arabia. Zohak commanded the forces of *Ad*, or *Ar*, when he invaded Iran. (Mem. de M. Anq. du Perron.) Now it seems not improbable that this Arabian King was the Arioch of Scripture. Arioch is called King of Ellasar; but the Masorites ought never to be trusted, for the pronunciation of foreign names in the Hebrew text. I read אלסר *Al-Sar*. Why Symmachus and Jerom fancied *Al-Sar* to be the Kingdom of Pontus, I am unable to conjecture. It appears more probable that by *Al-Sar* the sacred historian meant to indicate *Sarian*, which city is situated N.L. 35. about 50 miles N.E. of Emesa. I offer this opinion with considerable confidence, because in the Arabic version I find אלסר; *Al-Sar*, supplied by سريان *Sarian*. The original name therefore in Arabic was *Sar* with the article *al* prefixed, as is usual in that language. Arioch may therefore have been the

same as the Ariæus, who, according to Diodorus Siculus, aided Ninus when he invaded Persia.

6. Zohak had a brother, according to the Persians; one of whose names was *Kus*. This brother of Zohak, like Nimrod himself, was probably descended from Cush.

I have now only to add, that though Nimrod, or Belus, was denominated Zohak by the Persians; yet we must consider this name as representing, among the nations beyond the Tigris, not only Nimrod, but the whole Assyrian dynasty from that Prince to Sardanapalus. Thus we shall easily understand why the reign of Zohak is said to have lasted 1000 years.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Containing a few remarks on the intercourse which existed among the ancient nations of eastern Asia.*

VARIOUS circumstances indicate the intimate connexion, which existed between the ancient inhabitants of Iran, Turan, India, and China. The principal objection, which may be made to this statement, arises from the difference of languages. We can have little doubt, that the Sanscrit, Prakrit, Malayu, Bali, and Zend, were cognate dialects; and we may thence argue, that all the nations, to the east and to the west of the Indus, speaking those polysyllabic dialects, were of the same race; while upon the same principle we might infer, that the Chinese and some Tartar tribes, whose languages were monosyllabic, were of a distinct race from the Persians and Indians. But notwithstand-

ing this difference of idiom, much intercourse seems to have existed between those nations.

We have seen that according to Mohsin Phani, Iran and Indostan must have been united under one monarchy until the time of Zohak. Other Persian writers have represented Tartary and China as having once been under the sway of the Kings of Iran. Thus Pharidun, according to the author of the *Tarikh Cozideh*, divided Asia among his sons; and as Tartary and China fell to the lot of Tur, those countries were afterwards known by the name of Turan. Although this story be evidently false, as told of Pharidun the successor of Zohak, yet it may have been founded upon a tradition which represented the whole of Asia as governed by one sovereign. It is little probable, that the Kings of Iran were ever masters of China; but they may have once reigned over a considerable part of Tartary. We know from the sacred writings, that the Kings of western Asia, in the time of Abraham, were only vassals of the Iranian monarch, even as far as the banks of the Jordan; and if we

speak of still remoter times, we can have no authority for limiting the empire of Iran on the East to the waters of the Gihon.

It appears from various testimonies, that the ancient Indians, Persians, Tartars, and Chinese, had at one period a common system of law, religion, and science. I shall have occasion to show in another place, that the laws, as well as the moral and ethical doctrines of those nations, greatly resembled each other. I shall confine my observations at present to the similarity of their religious institutions, and to some of their astronomical discoveries.

The inhabitants of Turan, like those of Iran, adored the Sun; and like them sacrificed horses, and offered chariots, to the God of light. The Chinese were likewise worshippers of the Sun and of the celestial bodies; and it appears from a passage in the *Chi-çin* cited by Sir W. Jones, that, after the example of other Tsabeans, they celebrated their religious rites on the tops of hills, and on high places. (Asiatic Researches. Vol. 2.)

According to Sharistani, an Arabian author

quoted by Hyde, Aphridun (or Pharidun) erected a *pyreum* بطوس *in Tus*. I much suspect that we ought to read طور *Tur*. The same writer distinctly makes mention of a *pyreum*, which was constructed in one of the eastern provinces of China, anterior to the time of Zerdhurst.

It has been asserted by the Jesuit Visdelou, that the Chinese knew nothing of the countries contiguous to China, and much less of Persia, until about 140 years before the Christian æra (Notes sur D'Herbelot). But this supposes the Chinese to have been in a state of barbarism and ignorance, which appears to be contradicted by all their traditions; and the learned missionary could have obtained his information only from the Chinese themselves. The religion of the Chinese, before the time of Buddha, that is, about 10 or 11 centuries before Christ, appears to have been the same with that of the ancient Persians. They believed in the existence of Genii, which were probably similar to the *Divs*, or *Dews;* and like the Iranians they supposed spirits, or angels, to preside over the stars, the clouds, the mountains, valleys,

lakes, and rivers, as well as over the elements, (of which, like the Hindus, says Sir W. Jones, they reckoned five,) and particularly over fire. (Asiatic Researches. Vol. 2. p. 377.)

Visdelou denies, that the Chinese have ever known their country, unless it might have been for a very short period, by the name of China. It is possible, that within these few last centuries this name may have been disused; but had the country never been so called by the inhabitants, how has it happened that all other nations have given it the appellation of China? Hindus, Tartars, Persians, Arabians, all have called it by this name from the earliest periods; and though the modern Chinese have quarrelled with it, this is no proof that it was not used by their ancestors.

If we believe Dukiki, who flourished in the fourth century after the Hegira, and who was of the sect of the Suphi, the favour shown by Gustasp, (the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks,) to the religious doctrines of Zerdhurst, occasioned a violent quarrel between that monarch, and Arjasp King of China. Neither, if we trust Phar-

dosi, was this Arjasp a petty King of Tartary, as some have thought. The poet describes him as the most powerful Prince of Asia, and as King of *Tsin* and *Ma-Tsin*, China and great China, or, according to D'Herbelot, northern and southern China. But not to insist further upon these authorities, let it be admitted that the Kingdom in question was that small one called *Shen-si*. This seems to have been the opinion of Sir W. Jones. But *Shen-si* was always a Province of China proper; and it follows, that as Arjasp adhered to the ancient religion, and opposed the innovations of Zerdhurst, the Chinese (who had not adopted the tenets of Buddha), and the Iranians, must have had the same religion previous to the time of the new prophet, who was protected by Gustasp.

Let us now turn our attention to the cycles and periods, which were established among these nations.

The great period of 1440 years was equally known to the Tartars, the Chinese, and the Persians. This cycle, if it can be properly so

called, was equal, in round numbers, to 120 revolutions of the planet Jupiter, and to 48 of the planet Saturn; and multiplied by 18 gives the number of years in which the pole of the equator moves round the pole of the ecliptic.

The portions of the duodenary cycle were indicated by the same animals as symbols among the Iranians, Turanians, and Chinese.

The cycle of 60 years, which was called the period of *Vrihaspati*, or of the planet Jupiter, by the Hindus, was denominated *phen* by the Iranians. They united three of these *phens*, and formed a period of 180 years; and they also supposed another period of 144 years, because these two numbers, multiplied into each other, give 25,920, the number of years calculated for a complete sideral revolution.

Now it is remarkable that almost all the names, under which the Iranians carried on their calculations, are Chinese. This shows, if any thing can, the great intercourse which existed between the ancient nations of Eastern Asia.

D'Herbelot tells us that the *van*, or *ven*, the

period of 180 years, had three different names —the *shahnek-van*, the *Jounek-van*, and the *Cavan*. The proper orthography is not preserved by this author.

Hyde has already explained the Chinese or Tartar names employed in the horary cycle of the ancient Persians. This learned writer has made a few mistakes, which require to be corrected. With the assistance of De Guignes's Chinese lexicon, (if I may so call his ponderous volume,) the reader will easily follow me in the few remarks with which I shall conclude this book.

*Sinica vocabula temporum.*

فنگ *Fengh, seu fen, sive fuen, i. e. divisio, pars, particula,* 10,000$^{ma}$ *pars diei naturalis.* The learned author has committed some mistakes here. فنگ *phengh*, or فنک *phenk*, is a Persian word, and signifies an hour of the night. He has confounded this word with the Chinese words *phen* and *van*, or *wan*, to which we shall come presently.

كه *Ke, i. e. sculptura, sc. pars octava bihorii.* I can find no such word.

چاغ *Tchagh apud Persarum astronomos perperam ponitur ut Sinicum bihorii nomen, quod revera est* شي *shi, i. e. tempus: item hora Sinica, seu bihorium Europæum, sc. nychthemeri pars* 12^ma^. *Tchagh* signifies an hour, or time, in Persian; but I cannot find the *shi* of the learned author in Chinese.

شن *Shun, i. e. additio, sc. intercalatio.* In the Chinese *tchong*, or *tchung*. 120th key, 9th class.

كن *Can, i. e. truncus arboris.* This word signifies the stalk of a plant. 140th key, 14th class.

ون *Ven, compositio.* This is an error. The meaning of the word is given below.

شانگ‌ون *Shangh ven, i. e. superior compositio. Shang, chang,* or *tchang, first, superior, upper,* is to be found under the 1st key, 1st class. The learned writer has been deceived by his ear, or by his Persian guides, and has written ون *ven, van,* or *wan,* as you choose to pronounce it, for فن *phen.* This last word is to be found under the 18th key, 3rd class. *Tchang phen*

in Chinese signifies the upper, or first part, or portion; the word *phen* signifying a part, portion, or division.

چونگ ون *Tchung ven, i. e. media compositio. Tchong, middle,* in this place is under the 2nd key, 2nd class. I read *tchong phen,* middle part, portion, or division.

خا ون *Hia ven, i. e. inferior compositio.* خا can never be sounded *hia.* I have no doubt that we should read خیا *khia;* since *kia phen* in Chinese would signify the additional part, or portion. *Kia* is to be found under the 19th key, 3rd class.

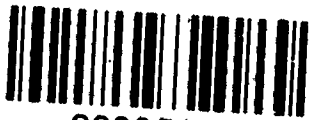
ون *Van, i. e. myrias, sc.* 10,000. This word is to be found under the 1st key, 1st class. It appears, that Hyde confounded *van* with the Persian *phenk,* and the Chinese *phen.* The word ون *van* signifies a myriad in Chinese; but there is no such word as ون *ven* which signifies composition, either in Chinese or in Persian.

The *tchang phen, tchong phen,* and *kia phen,* or first, middle and additional parts of the cycle of 180 years, and each equal to 60 years, the period of Vrihaspati among the Hindus,

were known alike to the ancient Persians, Chinese, and Tartars. When Gem-Shid established the year of 365 days, he ordered 30 days to be intercalated at the close of every revolution of 120 years. Thus the Kalendar was rectified, with an error of only about 21 hours and a half, for every period of 120 years, by the intercalation of a month. It follows, that the length of the tropical year must have been calculated with great, though not perfect, accuracy at a very early period by the nations of Eastern Asia.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

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